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CONTENTS

PAGE

Percy Mackaye's Plays on *Hamlet*.....*Henry T. Wells* 85

Shakespeare's Play of Atonement.....*Warren Staebler* 91

The Structure of the First Globe Theatre.....*Rennie Barker* 106

Julius Caesar at the Folger Shakespeare Library.....*Wallace A. Bacon* 112

Quarterly Reviews:

"TITUS ANDRONICUS".....*Thomas Marc Parrott* 117

"MR. HEILMAN ON KING LEAR".....*R. W. Babcock* 123

"YODER ON ANIMAL IMAGERY".....*John Hannigan* 132

Notes and Comment 133

Shakespeare and His Contemporaries.....*Dorothy R. Tannenbaum* 136

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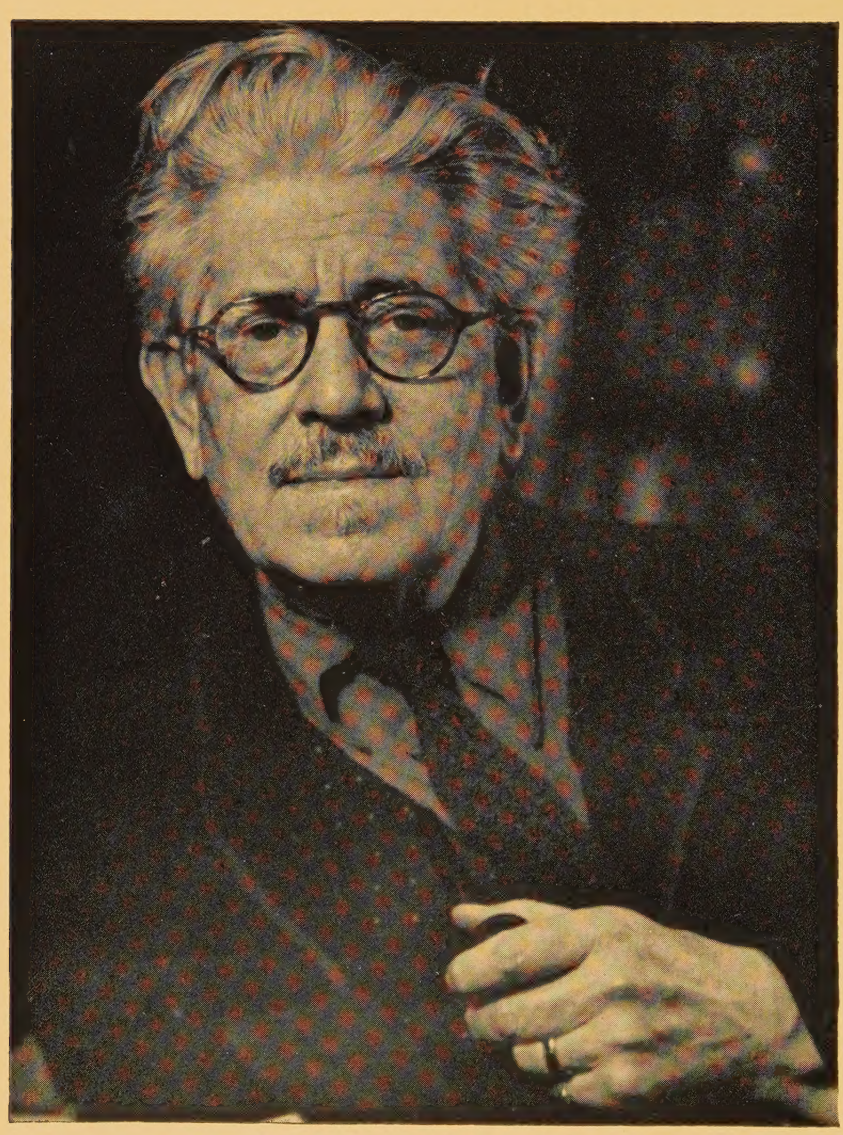
"As You Like It"—Adam (James Wellman) is saved from death by Orlando (Pierre Lefevre) in the Young Vic production by Glen Byam Shaw. Photograph is by John Vickers of London. (See article on "Shakespeare's Play of Atonement" by Warren Staebler on page 91.)



PERCY MACKAYE FROM A PHOTO-PORTRAIT BY ETHEL PRIES OF NEW YORK.

PERCY MACKAYE'S PLAYS ON *HAMLET*

By Henry W. Wells

IN THE justly celebrated Pasadena Playhouse, under the direction of Mr. Gilmor Brown, plays were performed this April having uncommon interest to persons in any way concerned with Shakespeare. These plays are by the poet and dramatist, Percy MacKaye, whose services as poetic interpreter of Shakespeare have been of long standing, and are descended from the devotion of a numerous and successful theatrical family. The new plays themselves constitute a tetralogy, under the general title, *The Mystery of Hamlet King of Denmark, or What We Will.* The four dramas are further described as a "Prologue" to Shakespeare's tragedy. In sequence they are: "The Ghost of Elsinore," "The Fool in Eden Garden," "Odin Against Christus," and "The Serpent in the Orchard." These works were produced successively on April fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth, and continued in a program lasting till the first of May. Of greater interest to the public as a whole will be the publication of the plays. A strictly limited edition will be printed during the summer, with the regular trade edition appearing early in the fall. The publisher, Bond Wheelwright, is also bringing out at about the time of the stage productions in California an elaborate brochure with some explanation of this extremely unusual adventure in playwriting, play producing, and publication.

Since the plays are already a reality on the stage, they may in the correct Elizabethan sense of the word be said already to have been "published," for they have ceased to be a private and become a public concern. The major interest, nevertheless, clearly centers upon the text rather than on the performance in a single playhouse which, however considerable may be its prestige, is unhappily remote from most readers of this journal. The future of the work on the stage must remain problematical and there is relatively little occasion to review here these initial performances in Pasadena. There is, however, a very real occasion for reviewing such an extraordinary

tribute to Shakespeare, and poetry and playwriting of so unusual a character.

Whatever critics or the public may conclude regarding all this activity, in almost every respect it should be obvious that the playwright has broken with rules and conventions. Mr. Brown's venture in producing a sequence of plays on any theme, not to mention so rare a one as this, is out of the ordinary, although the Pasadena Playhouse is distinguished for its dramatic festivals. Even a brief inspection of the texts of the plays shows that this veteran producer is at least taking a reasonable chance, for they are as daring and provocative in their execution as in their subject. They bear, of course, some likeness to earlier Shakespeariana and to previous work by the same author. It may also be recalled that among the last works of Gerhart Hauptmann is a poetic drama, *Hamlet at Wittenberg.* But Mackaye's plays are not new merely in the length to which their project extends; they are also fresh in quality, distinctly unlike what MacKaye himself or anyone else has thus far done. The rarity itself obviously provokes comment.

It is the guess of the present writer that the four plays, differing radically from what has gone before them, will also be unlike what will come after them; the mythology of Hamlet may be endless, but MacKaye has explored almost to the limit this particular province.

Before any substantial support can be given these statements, a little more factual account of the plays is required. They are a dramatic evocation of the antecedent action of Shakespeare's tragedy, written in a style neither pedantically imitative of the Elizabethan nor at any time divorced from warm contact with the spirit of Elizabethan verse. A considerable number of lines from *Hamlet* are even incorporated in MacKaye's work. One of the least forseen comments that can be made by the present reviewer is that, at least in his eyes, neither Shakespeare's lines nor MacKaye's appear out of place. The percentage of lines borrowed is not great, and MacKaye uses relatively no more gold taken from Shakespeare than Shakespeare, presumably, uses silver taken from an UrHamlet.

The series opens with "The Ghost of Elsinore," a play covering in time the period from thirty years before the opening of *Hamlet* to the birth of Shakespeare's hero. In theme, it examines the "central

mystery of immortality wherein" in the words of the Playhouse announcement, "the living and the dead, the poet and his dæmon, the actor and the protagonist meet in a timeless borderland that is neither past nor future but the all-present, evoked by the symbolic cock who heralds the coming of the light to all who watch." Yorick is the central figure of the second play, "The Fool in Eden Garden," "the gentle fool . . . from whom the young prince learns the magic insight of love, by some called madness." "Odin against Christus" is a pagan play of revenge; a play of suspicion and terror, of King Hamlet, away at the Polish wars, victim to his brother's designs. And finally, "The Serpent in the Orchard" is a drama of madness and fate-driven tragedy, in which "a maddened monarch becomes a mad ghost, ridden still with the insatiable passion of revenge."

Shakespeare's play enjoys an extraordinary depth of temporal perspective, an aspect which contributes to the metaphysical character of the play, which is almost equally concerned with poignant memories and fears of things to come. Into this profoundly fascinating world of the imagination MacKaye has walked and there made himself thoroughly at home, where he may be regarded as even immune from the frowns of Professor Stoll. For the exact critic, this world is, as Professor Stoll has observed, a treacherous bog; yet it may well be a paradise for the creative imagination, where the poet is definitely out of bounds so far as the academic objections are concerned. The scholar cannot know about Hamlet's youth where no such data are provided in the original play; if he pretends to such knowledge, he becomes absurd. But if a new poet imagines such things, it is obvious that he merely enlarges the world of the imagination.

The entire project, however, should raise certain natural doubts and fears in the mind of any intelligent reader today, although these apprehensions will, I think, on close inspection vanish. It may conceivably be urged that modern trilogies and tetralogies are usually pretentious, although the French motion pictures, *Cesare, Marius* and *Fanny,* constitute one of the finest art works of our age. Our hurried times frown on three-volume novels, works as long as the sequences of Aeschylus, the six books of *The Faerie Queene,* or even, perhaps, the tetralogy of Wagner's *Ring of the Nibelungen,* which this year is being mulcted of one of its members in the New York performances. Moreover, I believe that even the most enthusiastic Shakespearean

scholar must admit that although the great playwright has supplied untold inspiration to countless artists and writers in many tongues, he has been a most dangerous model, even for Englishmen and Americans. There are special reasons for this condition, reasons too seldom examined. The feelings for both language and the theatre in all periods after Shakespeare have differed in very important respects from these feelings in his own times. The structure of the language has changed, just as the structure of the theatre has changed. Since 1642 the world has nowhere seen anything closely resembling the old buildings, such as the Fortune or the Globe, nor anything like the peculiar sensitivity for speech enjoyed by Shakespeare's contemporaries and fellow-countrymen. As result, all mere imitation of Shakespeare, either as producer or as poet, whether on or off the stage, has always labored under almost unsurmountable difficulties. In our own period not only have the eighteenth and nineteenth century imitations become far less satisfactory than they once were, but all such imitations have fallen under ever deepening suspicion. "Inimitable" has been the substantive implied in our best criticism of the Shakespearean style, whether in acting or in poetry. Not only have frank echoes of late been fewer. We have come to feel that many of the saddest squanderings of English genius have been in the pages of poets, from Thomas Otway and James Thomson to Swinburne and Tennyson, where open imitation of Shakespeare has been attempted. Hundreds of poetic tragedies have shipwrecked on this fatal shoal. Shakespeare is surely one of our greatest inspirations, but it is no less sure that he proves as a rule one of our worst models. He has been a blessing for those who have read him imaginatively, a tyrant to those who have followed him literally.

Are Mackaye's plays, then, as they so easily might be, pretentious in length and fatuous in their style, which undoubtedly approaches the Elizabethan to its own peril? In the opinion of the present writer they fall properly under neither of these aspersions. In their ambitious project, the ambition seems warranted and, with only minor exceptions, a sound style is achieved and maintained. But this judgment appears to violate the general rule in English literary criticism that augurs ill for close imitation of Shakespeare. Have times changed? How can this be accounted for?

In the first place, there is the personal equation of their author. Several of his earlier books may properly be regarded as experimental

sketches for this. His principal studies have been a long discipline to this end. He has written plays and many lyrics using Shakespearean themes. These include his well-known "Masque," *Caliban,* and *A Garland to Sylvia.* His plays and critical essays on the theatre have at least opened numerous doors leading in the direction of the older and freer speech and theatre of the Elizabethans. It is by no means irrelevant to recall that he has always lived in an atmosphere haunted by Shakespeare, which is easily imagined when one remembers that his father, Steele MacKaye, whose life he has written in great detail, staged almost countless productions of Shakespeare, was the first American to play *Hamlet* in London, and the only actor from abroad to perform the leading role in French on the stage of the Comedie Française. But all this background must appear merely preparatory to MacKaye's present work, which both is and is not by a new hand. It profits from years of trial and error, during which its prolific author gained much strength and shed many encumbrances. It profits still more by a long period of silent maturing, during which new values in taste and a new intellectual climate were being created in the world. The tetralogy opens upon altogether new prospects, is more serious art than any remotely of its kind. Above all, it suggests certain important reorientations of the modern mind toward poetry itself and toward both Elizabethan poetry and stage. The tetralogy could not, I think, have been written thirty years ago, when MacKaye composed his *Caliban.*

In the climate of the present times some explanation must be found for the more intimate relation between the Elizabethans and ourselves, between their style and threatre and ours. The answers, paradoxical as it may seem, lie at once in the superior naturalness and the heightened artificiality of the modern media of expression. We are today rapidly leaving behind us both Augustan and Romantic rhetoric. In their place comes a more direct expression of experience. We are also learning that such direct and spontaneous expression may itself imply a departure from mere naturalism, as the spontaneous and highly expressive drawing of a child does not show the lines and shadows pictured by the camera. At least the more educated modern minds are becoming more appreciative of useful artifice, whether in language or in stagecraft. We are living not in the most refined or successful age but in by far the most dynamic age which the arts, and especially the dramatic arts, have ever known.

The evolution is above all within the theatre itself. The old trunk of the theatre is rapidly putting forth new branches such as drama for film, radio and television. Within these mechanized spheres at least ninety-five percent of America's dramatic energy is now being exercised. Each of these new arts, especially in its initial stages, quickly formulates fairly strict conventions. They are also direct and democratic arts, as were so many phases of the Elizabethan theatre. Shakespeare's age saw a new English speech and a new English theatre come rapidly into being. We ourselves see plays for film, radio and television swiftly developing along the same generic lines as the old speech and drama. Hence a new birth of sensitivity respecting Shakespeare and the Elizabethans comes into existence. And hence we may in part account for the success with which MacKaye's work may reasonably be expected to reach its audience and its readers today. The student of modern poetry and theatre in general and of Shakespeare and his language in particular does well to ponder all parts of MacKaye's work. It should be fruitful of both pleasure and thought. Far from being either retrospective or eccentric, as the subject and form suggest, it is a remarkably sober and solidly based achievement in a strictly modern poetic drama with its roots not in pedantic antiquarianism but in the rich and inexhaustible soil of the greatest of English classics. New conditions have removed old barriers, making possible a warm and intimate contact with the Elizabethan poet and dramatist as well as with the modern public.

Columbia University Dramatic Museum

Mr. Brooks Atkinson in his review of the tetralogy, in the Sunday Theatre section of the *New York Times* for April 24th, pays tribute to the magnitude of the venture attempted by the Pasadena Playhouse. He points out that Mr. Mackaye has produced a work overwhelming in its demands upon the actors and the producer—as well as upon the audience. "Shakespeare," he says, "set down the speeches for his actors with gusto in the racy idiom of his day"; while Mr. Mackaye "decorates his dramas with ornamental literary words and with allusions to classical and Christian lore, which scholars are best able to appreciate." Mr. Atkinson acknowledges the "genuine poetry" of this Hamlet cycle, but, essentially a critic of the theatre, he finds the gigantic work not completely suitable to the modern audience or the modern producer of Broadway. This in itself adds to the credit due Gilmor Brown's Playhouse; but it magnifies, too, the importance of the forthcoming publication of the work in full—a fundamentally literary achievement. Information may be obtained from the publishers, Bond Wheelwright and Company, 145 East 63rd Street, New York City, N. Y. (Editor's note)

SHAKESPEARE'S PLAY OF ATONEMENT

By Warren Staebler

> Then is there mirth in heaven,
> When earthly things made even
> Atone together.
>
> *As You Like It,* V, iv, 114-6

THIRTY years ago the English music critic Ernest Newman wrote a slight piece entitled "The Music of Felicity." In it he observed that even the greatest composers have rarely written in felicitous moods, and so he was unable to bring to mind a single work felicitous in its entirety. Preeminent among the felicitous parts of works, however, he found the opening of the last movement of the Cesar Franck violin and piano sonata, with its flowing theme in canon between the two instruments; this, he said, gave him "the fullest sense of felicity, of the happy poise of all the faculties of the body, and all the forces of the world."

As You Like It has long been my favorite Shakespeare comedy, but it was not until I came across Ernest Newman's little essay that I realized that I preferred it to the others because it is a play of felicity. And it was not until three years ago, when I read it intensively after a long absence from it, that I understood why it impressed me as felicitous. It is marked by no rapture, no lovers' ecstasy, no exuberant high spirits, not even joyous happiness, but by an even, unruffled well being, a serenity which, perhaps for want of a better word, must be called felicity. Its key is C major and its tempo is allegro, but always allegro moderato never allegro agitato or con brio. It communicates much of the "plain delight" which for Chaucer's franklin constituted perfect felicity.

To be sure, *As You Like It* has long been popular among performers as well as readers of Shakespeare, and innumerable encomiums, I suppose, could be cited on various virtues of its story, its

characters, and its atmosphere. Foreigners as well as English-speaking folk have loved it. Stendhal, for example, found it "all diamonds and gold" and was quickened by its "fraîcheur." And indeed it is unique in its atmosphere, for it is suffused with a singular combination of autumnal mellowness and spring freshness and vivacity. But the extraordinary thing is that its atmosphere is not the result of poetic virtuosity or imaginative fancy as is that of *Love's Labors Lost* or *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* but the reflection of an attitude toward life, the emanation of a spirit, the aura of a mind. It is not a funny play, for it is high comedy, not a comedy of jokes. Yet although it is not funny, it includes fun along with other things—wit, sentiment, sentimentality, and pathos. It is the product of a being all of whose faculties were in equipoise. It is serene because it was created by Shakespeare when he was at-one with life; it is therefore, in the Elizabethan sense of the word, a play of atonement, or, to use a modern word, a play of perfect adjustment. For this reason a unique harmony pervades it.

The principal characters are at-one with themselves, with their fellows, and with nature. There is extraordinary wisdom and maturity in the way they look at life. To be so wise and mature and "atoned" demands that they see things as they are; they are, in fact, admirably disillusioned for theirs is a disillusionment untainted by cynicism. Even Corin the shepherd, lowly and inconsequential though he is, exhibits this atonement for he is content with earning what he eats and getting what he wears and owes no man hate, envies no man's happiness, is glad of other men's good, and undisturbed by his own harm.

The Duke in *Measure for Measure,* it will be recalled, was described as "one that, above all other strifes, contended especially to know himself." There is no evidence in *As You Like It* that Rosalind, Jaques, the banished Duke, and Touchstone have either patiently or zealously striven all their lives to know themselves, but the fact is that they do know themselves and in their knowledge are at-one with themselves. They accept, and can laugh at, themselves. The miracle is that so young (for none of them are old) and so little exercised by life, they are what they are. It is true that Jaques has only recently attained his atonement, for the Duke, chiding him for what he considers momentary mistaken zeal to reform the world, reminds him that he has

> . . . been a libertine
> As sensual as the brutish sting itself.
> (II, vii, 65-66)

And it is probably safe to assume that he has left behind his unenlightened ways because he felt the need of so doing. He, then, it is likely, has made some effort to know himself, but the others seem naturally to have grown into self-knowledge. Rosalind as Ganymede is honest with herself and wth Celia in defining the character of her state with Orlando; she knows the foolishness of love and indeed in her disguise has told Orlando all that an enlightened worldling should know of it and its false claims, but she cannot as a creature of flesh and blood resist the pleasure it brings and so with a sigh over the conquest of her clear-sightedness by "that blind rascally boy that abuses every one's eyes because his own are out," confesses that she cannot be out of the sight of Orlando and can only sigh in a shadow until he comes. She is not angry with Phebe because she thinks her cruel; she is indignant that she does not know the limitations of her person and place and aspires in love beyond herself. Accordingly she admonishes her good-naturedly:

> But, mistress, know yourself. Down on your knees,
> And thank heaven, fasting, for a good man's love;
> For I must tell you friendly in your ear,
> Sell when you can; you are not for all markets.
> (III, v, 57-60)

Jaques passes for a melancholy fellow, but his is a consciously cultivated melancholy of a highly eclectic brand and he describes for Rosalind the many simples of which it is compounded. The feelings which he has studied how to indulge sensitively and aesthetically afford him a connoisseur's pleasure. He knows this and admits it and therefore can say with truth that he can suck melancholy out of a song as a weasel sucks eggs. But he does not while away his earthly time only by playing the man of variegated sentiment; he is also a philosopher, with the true philosopher's detachment toward things. Moved by Touchstone's laconic simplification of life to a ripening from hour to hour followed by a rotting from hour to hour, and inspired by a sudden perception of folly, or satirical laughter, as the one effectual means of reforming human beings and getting them to lead reasonable lives, he thinks of himself, invested with a fool's prerogatives, wandering over the globe, through and through cleans-

ing its foul infected body. But his ardor has not carried him away or befogged his perspective. An important "if" attaches to the success which he, or anyone, as moral physician can attain. He can purify human beings only *if* they will patiently receive his medicine! What balance, what absence of illusion!

The principal characters are as much at-one with their fellow human beings as with themselves. The most conspicuous examples of close, affectionate, but unselfish ties are the friendships of Rosalind and Celia and of Adam and Orlando. But the relation between Jaques and the Duke is perhaps almost as close, though much less demonstratively so. They value each other's company for the play of mind it affords, the Duke loving most to "cope" Jaques in his "sullen fits," since he finds him then "full of matter." Jaques, however, finds the Duke occasionally disputatious in their exchanges, and caring too much for their friendship (as well as for his own privacy of mind) to allow it to be endangered by prolonged controversy, not seldom takes pains like a reasonable man to avoid his company.

> I think of as many matters as he; but I give
> heaven thanks, and make no boast of them.
> (II, v, 37-38)

Toward others with whom he is less intimate, Jaques is good-natured, although sometimes his sense of irony and quickness of perception lead him to be impudent in his replies to them. Even so, he is never guilty of malice. Early in the play after Amiens has brought him the not-welcome news that the Duke is looking for him and will soon arrive, he sings a satirical verse in which he laughs at himself as an ass and gross fool for having left his wealth and ease only to become employed in pleasing the stubborn will of the Duke. Amiens, puzzled, inquires about Jaques' refrain of "Ducdame, ducdame, ducdame" and is told,

> 'Tis a Greek invocation to call fools into a
> circle. I'll go sleep, if I can; if I cannot,
> I'll rail against all the first-born of Egypt.
> (II, v, 61-63)

A little later, after Jaques is seated with the Duke and the rest of his company at their greensward banquet, Orlando bursts on them with his sword drawn, desperate in search of food for aged Adam, and commands, "Forbear, and eat no more." Jaques remonstrates, "Why

I have eat none yet," and then, giving him up for a maddened cock, reaches for some fruit in spite of his threat that whoever touches it dies till he and his affairs are answered: "An you will not be answered: "An you will not be answered with reason, I must die." No rejoinder could be more characteristic. In his regenerated state he is essentially a man of reason unable to communicate with anybody whose responses to life have ceased to be rational. But he does not damn those who are irrational, or exploit them; he ignores them, without contempt. Since they do not enter his sphere there is no danger of collision with them. Nor does he deride those who like himself have undergone regeneration but now live by a different discipline and evaluate life through a different medium. Often sensual sinners redeemed by religion become passionate proselytizers seeking after their kind to shock them into righteousness with fearful Jeremiads, as witness various notorious American evangelists. Not so Jaques. He has been redeemed by reason and the light he has seen is that of luminous intelligence. When he learns at the end of the play that the usurping Duke upon his entrance into the Forest of Arden has repented of his bad deeds, repudiated all his worldly gains, and "put on a religious life," he exclaims,

> To him will I. Out of these convertites
> There is much matter to be heard and learn'd.
> (V, iv, 190-191)

Such a phenomenon is something to be examined dispassionately and with pleasurable profit, too, for what he can learn about a temperament and experience alien to his own. As he tells Rosalind, the one important thing about his life, the thing which compensates for all losses, is what he has gained in the way of experience. And in his amused eyes humanity is not to be despised for it is always affording the stuff out of which new experience, no matter how slight, can be shaped.

As for Orlando, stereotyped character though he is, it is significant that in spite of the indignities he has suffered, he bears no malice against humanity, or as we should say, society, and is not out to get even with the world. In his speech to Rosalind and Celia just before his wrestling match with Charles, he reveals his dispassionate adaptation to his lot. In its expression, true, part of this may be a little fulsome, for he was after all unschooled in such things, but

what it reveals of his modesty and fortunate disposition cannot be gainsaid.

> . . . if I be foil'd, there is but one
> sham'd that was never gracious; if kill'd, but one
> dead that is willing to be so. I shall do my
> friends no wrong, for I have none to lament me;
> the world no injury, for in it I have nothing.
> Only in the world I fill up a place, which may
> be better supplied when I have made it empty.
> (I, ii, 199-205)

It is true that in the very first scene, quarreling with his unjust brother, he denies that he is a villain with a terrible threat:

> Wert thou not my brother, I would not take this
> hand from thy throat till this other had pull'd
> out thy tongue for saying so.
> (I, i, 61-63)

After he has learned from Adam that Oliver is planning to murder him and has agreed to flee, even though he has not the remotest idea of how he will sustain himself, he pledges himself never to beg or rob humanity in order to do it; he is ready rather to subject himself to the malice of his bloody brother. When he does threaten the Duke and his company in the forest with his naked sword, to rob them of food, he is not driven by his own plight but by that of Adam, his benefactor. Later on when he finds Oliver sleeping in the forest, he does not take advantage of this circumstance to retaliate on him; rather he saves his life from the lion about to prey on him, at considerable risk of his own.

As for the at-onement of the characters with nature, as much as can be said has already been said about the humanizing, harmonizing influence of the Forest of Arden upon all who enter it. The beneficience of nature in this play is as romantically idealized by Shakespeare as it was ever to be two centuries later by Wordsworth or Byron or Shelley. Indeed the Forest is much like a prototype of the blessed isle-haven of which Shelley dreams in his "Lines Written Among the Euganean Hills," where "the love which heals all strife" is so operative as instantaneously to transform any of "the polluting multitude" who find their way there and set foot upon its shores. It is because the Forest provides such magical power that the two vil-

lains in *As You Like It,* Oliver and the usurping Duke, are healed of their villany as soon as they reach it and harmony restored between them and those they have wronged, so that the two discords sounded early in the play are at its close resolved into perfect concord. But it is not this power of nature to transmute base metals into gold which I want to discuss here. Nor is it the cheerful, sane acceptance by the Duke and his comrades of the inclemencies of weather as they live close to the earth, or their humanitarian sympathy for the beasts whom they have dispossessed and are forced to slaughter for their food, although both these things (the first more than the second) are in due measure good. When I say that the characters of *As You Like It* are at-one with nature, I have in mind the physical facts of life, the flux of things of which they themselves are part. They accept their animal, vegetable selves and the end as well as the functions by which they are inevitably characterized. The most important physical fact of life is growth followed by decay and dissolution, or death; and to this the characters of *As You Like It* are reconciled genially and compassionately. Touchstone voices most succinctly, at once tender and amused, his acceptance of this fact, and Jaques, marveling as he listens, subscribes to it:

> And so, from hour to hour, we ripe and ripe,
> And then, from hour to hour, we rot and rot;
> And thereby hangs a tale.
> (II, vii, 26-28)

A few minutes later Jaques himself, in his "All the world's a stage," in more detail, describes the subtle changes which overtake the flesh in its brief, arc-like voyage through time. The end of it,

> . . . second childishness and mere oblivion,
> Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything,
> (II, vii, 165-166)

he accepts equably. No repining on the one hand over the sadness of it; no belly laughter on the other over its ludicrousness, in burlesque of its physical deformities. The passage has been justly famous. Although it is not explicitly voiced by them, this attitude is essentially that of the other major characters; and even Adam, lesser figure though he is, in accepting his age as a frosty but kindly winter, shows us that he shares it. Indeed on the theme of time, touched eloquently in every play, Shakespeare has woven a number of variations in *As*

You Like It. In addition to Jaques' speech on the seven ages of man and Touchstone's observation on ripening and rotting, there are Rosalind's elucidation to Orlando of Time traveling "in divers paces with divers persons" and the sounding of "carpe diem" in the songs, notably in "It was a lover and his lass" at the end.

The chief fact of animal existence is sex, and to this, no less than to the mutability and death of earthly things, the men and women of *As You Like It* are reconciled, Rosalind and Touchstone having most to say about it. In short, living in the body they are not at all reluctant to say they are of the body, with its appetites and instincts. It may be that Elizabethans spoke more frankly, or less self-consciously, about their bodies and about sex than we do now, but even if this were so, the wholesome, rounded candor of *As You Like It* could not be accounted for simply by this fact. There is frank talk, too, among men and women in the other comedies, much more sophisticated, but it does not bear the same relation to everything that is said as does that of *As You Like It*—it does not grow naturally out of an underlying view of things uniform among the characters. We see in the other comedies the brilliant plucked petals of the flower as they are scattered here and there by the poet; but in *As You Like It* we see the complete flower, the petals and the stem to which they are attached, flourishing serenely in the sunlit air. The lesser functions of the body, even that of perspiration, when they are mentioned, are touched on with good-natured humor.

Love for Touchstone is a phenomenon of the blood, an impulsion of the body toward an object which, because of a crystallization of certain substances within the flesh, has become desirable to it. So with purposeful seeming incongruity he describes his state to Jaques:

> As the ox hath his bow, sir, the horse his curb,
> and the falcon her bells, so man hath his desires;
> and as pigeons bill, so wedlock would be nibbling.
> (III, ii, 80-82)

At the end of the play in joining with Audrey what he calls "the rest of the country copulatives," he is honest and informs us that he is both swearing and forswearing, for although marriage binds, blood breaks. For him, as for a more recent analyst of the subject, Proust, love consists of "les intermittences du coeur." And for Rosalind, too, for she knows to what extent it is chemical in its nature. She has seen Oliver and Celia fall in love at sight; in their blandishments toward

one another and in their preoccupation with their state, she knows that they have

> made a pair of stairs to marriage which they will climb incontinent, or else be incontinent before marriage. They are in the very wrath of love and they will be together. Clubs cannot part them.
>
> (V, ii, 41-45)

To the great legendary fictions about romantic love she cannot subscribe; there is for her no grand passion. Such tales as those of the suicide of Troilus over love of Cressida and of the martyrdom through drowning of Leander for love of Hero

> . . . are all lies.
> Men have died from time to time and worms have eaten them, but not for love.
>
> (IV, i, 106-108)

Troilus simply "had his brains dash'd out with a Grecian club," and Leander, while taking a bath in the Hellespont, was simply stricken with cramps. But there is no bitterness, no sourness in her disbelief. On the contrary, it is with sympathy that she smiles at the credulity of a world by which such myths are perpetuated from generation to generation to delude the minds of young men like Orlando and young women like Phebe. As for marriage as a man-made institution for the confinement of sexual love, with something of his amused eye for human absurdities, she believes it to be generally as little stable and lasting as Touchstone himself. She has seen too many tempers run out, too many vows weaken—in short, too much conjugal passion die and too much infidelity take its place to see it under any glamor.

> No, no, Orlando. Men are April when they woo, December when they wed; maids are May when they are maids, but the sky changes when they are wives. (IV, i, 147-149)

> Make the doors upon a woman's wit and it will out at the casement; shut that and 'twill out at the keyhole; stop that, 'twill fly with the smoke out at the chimney, (IV, i, 163-166)

not unlikely on its way to her neighbor's bed. Nevertheless, in spite

of all that she says to disabuse Orlando of his infatuation and—who knows?—perhaps to rid herself of the stirring within her blood, she cannot resist the appeal of the young man (who, it must be admitted, has other things than his physical beauty and prowess to recommend him) and takes him to her in marriage, for better or for worse.

And so all the absurd, the distasteful, the sad, even the ugly, things of life are openly faced and serenely accepted by the memorable figures of *As You Like It*. The elusiveness of time, the ephemerality of beauty and love and life are touched in this play with a warmth and compassion which recall Ecclesiastes. Dust we are, and dust to dust we return. Purged by the sympathy and clear vision of Jaques, Touchstone, and Rosalind, the gross is no longer gross. They are reconciled to their mortality. And yet it is this same mortality which constitutes the rock on which later protagonists in the tragedies are to be wrecked. Lear morbidly will not let supplicating Gloucester kiss his hand until he has wiped it first because it "smells of mortality." The world of the flesh is for Hamlet with his morbid mind an "unweeded garden" possessed only by things rank and gross, the universe nothing but a foul and pestilent congregation of vapors, and human beings having outgrown their youth and health, sheer monstrosities, half-witted, weak-hammed, with wrinkled faces and matter-leaking eyes. What a far cry from Jaques and Touchstone! As for physical love, a man and woman in each other's arms are to Hamlet only the sun breeding maggots in a dead dog, which he says is a good kissing carrion. Sexual union is equally abhorrent to Lear, and he anathematizes females as Centaurs from the waist down, with burning, scalding, stench, consumption beneath their girdles. Contrast his revulsion at the thought of lecherous copulation somewhere every moment in the animal world, even among the wrens and flies, with Touchstone's humorous chiding of Corin for making his living by the bringing together of his rams and ewes.

As I have said, the characters of *As You Like It* are resigned to the judgment on them by Time, whom Rosalind characterizes as "the old justice that examines all . . . offenders." On the contrary Macbeth, although he, too, sees the world as a stage and all the men and women merely players, finds no rhythm, no pattern, no bearing of any fruit in the course they follow, only man as a shadow acting his part in

> . . . a tale
> Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
> Signifying nothing.
> (V, v, 26-28)

And he translates Touchstone's ripening and rotting from hour to hour into a relentless, meaningless creeping in of a petty pace from day to day

> To the last syllable of recorded time.
> (V, v, 21)

He has no compassionate atonement, only savage self-incrimination and uncompromising resentment of the inscrutable system of things. And as for self-knowledge,

> Men must endure
> Their going hence, even as their coming hither;
> Ripeness is all,
> (V, ii, 9-11)

says Edgar in *King Lear,* and the unforgettable figures of *As You Like It,* by exhibiting an extraordinary ripeness, bear him out. Yet Lear himself, we learn from Goneril and Regan, has all his life so slenderly known himself that the best of him has been but rashness. No wonder, then, that he brings the pillars of the universe crashing down about him in dreadful tumult and must pay even with his heart's pulse for the degree of ripeness which he attains belatedly by the time of his imprisonment with Cordelia.

Mellowness, or ripeness, of course, consists with moderation. And, especially considering the October sunlight which lights up and warms its atmosphere, it is not at all un-apt to call *As You Like It* a play of the golden mean. The characters are thinking beings and Jaques is not alone in feeling it imperative to say in a crisis with another human being, "An you be not answered with reason, I must die." Rosalind is probably the most sweetly reasonable of all the characters; therefore excess is repugnant to her. In her first encounter with Jaques, she observes, "They say you are a melancholy fellow." And, without giving as careful consideration as he usually does to his answer, he says bluntly, "I am so; I do love it better than laughing." Whereupon Rosalind seizes on his admission to admonish him:

> Those that are in extremity of either are abominable fellows, and betray themselves to every modern censure worse than drunkards.
> (IV, i, 5-7)

Excesses of the mind or of feeling are to her worse than sensual excess; either giddines or melancholy is more censurable than drunkenness. And she tries to put some manhood back into smitten, languishing Silvius by showing him that in "the extremity of love" for Phebe he has become as spineless as a tame snake, in short, a fool. But the important thing to keep in mind is that the reason of the men and women of *As You Like It* is not one which refuses to keep company with affection, or appetite, or instinct. They are reasonable rather than rational beings; for a rational being, like Swift, is unreasonable in his rationality whereas a reasonable man, like Samuel Johnson, knows when to stop reasoning and heed and embrace his emotions, his instincts, or his prejudices, and to call a truce with the follies of society about him which it is beyond his power to correct. As I said earlier, all the faculties of the chief figures of *As You Like It* are in equipoise, which is only another way of saying, I suppose, that they are thoroughly, warmly human. And so although she cannot, being a creature of reason, believe in love as a grand passion, Rosalind must, being reasonable, accept love for its instinctual pleasure and gratification, and give and take affection sweetly.

Jaques is sometimes thought to be an individual wrapped up in himself, devoid of instinctual trust or love. He certainly appears unsusceptible to love—erotic love, that is—but this may be because he has outgrown it. But it is surely wrong to say that he is without instinctual trust or affection. Adherent of reason though he is, his heart is not in the least atrophied. He is not only free of malice or suspicion toward people in general; he is affectionately disposed to those in particular among whom he has chosen to make his lot. Shakespeare after all gives him what is really the last word—a series of benedictions as he disposes of the various male characters who have been involved in the complications of the play. These are spoken with affectionate good will, even though it means recommending some of them to their marriage beds.

Indeed *As You Like It* is the most human and down-to-earth of all Shakespeare's comedies, for it deals exclusively with human beings

and their relation to themselves and to the good earth. It is free of the preciosity of *Love's Labors Lost,* the fantasy of *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* the barbed wit and sinister undertones of *Much Ado About Nothing,* the cruelty of *Twelfth Night,* and the magic of *The Tempest.* There is nothing in it of our relation to powers supra-human—nothing of astral determinism, nothing of any divinity, and only a few mentions of Fortune, or chance, the most important occurring in the second scene of the play when Rosalind and Celia playfully distinguish between the offices of Fortune and those of Nature as they affect their state. God, I believe, is mentioned only once, and then inconsequentially, in Jaques' "Nay, then, God buy you, an you talk in blank verse," as he takes leave of Rosalind following their first meeting. And "heaven" occurs only occasionally, in hardly more significant fashion, as when Touchstone tells Jaques that he is not to be called fool until heaven has sent him fortune. Benjamin Franklin tells in his *Autobiography* about offering hospitality to the traveling evangelist Whitefield and then, Whitefield having said that he was glad to accept so kind an offer for Christ's sake, correcting him by stating that he had not extended the invitation for Christ's sake but for Whitefield's. It is out of their deep regard for their common humanity that the Duke and his fellows are ready to give succor to Adam and Orlando, and not for any professed kinship with a supernatural Being; and indeed it is to their humanity that Orlando appeals. It is as if for Shakespeare in *As You Like It* the human condition contained fullness enough, as if he had surveyed it with a loving eye and found it wholly good.

Coherent in its outlook on life from beginning to end, *As You Like It* is as consistent in its tone as it is uniform in its atmosphere. With whatever technical faults exist in the manipulation of the plot, or whatever overstrainings of coincidence there are, I am not concerned here. The cast of the language in which the story is projected, however, and the aptness of it at every turn deserve at least a glance by way of consideration. The verse is no more rich or ornate than the prose. Splendor and luxuriance have given place to luminousness and warmth and earthy substantiality. The best known passages from *As You Like It* are not distinguished by either richness of sound or striking imagery. There is nothing in it like Viola's

> She pin'd in thought,
> And with a green and yellow melancholy
> She sat, like patience on a monument,
> Smiling at grief.
>
> (II, iv, 115-118)

This is not to say that there are no images. There are, but they are of a different nature from those which highlight much of the verse in the other comedies; and furthermore the fabric in which they are embedded has been cut more nearly all from the same cloth. Extravagance and magnificence are forsworn in *As You Like It.* So, too, is imagery deriving from classical myth. The characteristic image of this play grows out of homely, warm, fruitful nature—from the friendly English countryside of spring or autumn, with its flocks and lowly human habitations. And its dimensions are small. For Rosalind, early in the play, the working-day world is full of briers, or burs, which she can shake off her coat but not off her heart; adversity, says the Duke in his first speech, has its sweet uses after all for like the toad it hides a precious jewel in its head; Orlando humbly tells Adam, who has faith in him, that he is pruning a rotten tree which cannot yield so much as a blossom; Silvius, resigned to the unrequitement of his love for Phebe, thinks

> . . . it a most plenteous crop
> To glean the broken ears after the man
> That the main harvest reaps;
>
> (III, v, 101-103)

Jaques sucks melancholy out of a song as a weasel sucks eggs; Touchstone tells Corin he is damn'd "like an ill roasted egg all on one side"; Celia finds Orlando under a tree like a dropped acorn; Rosalind as Ganymede tells Orlando she lives with her sister "in the skirts of the forest, like fringe upon a petticoat;" she engages to wash his "liver as clean as a sound sheep's heart, that there shall not be one spot of love in't;" Celia tells Rosalind that, considering Orlando's "verity in love," she thinks him as "concave as a covered goblet or a worm-eaten nut;" Jaques tells Touchstone that Sir Oliver Martext in marrying him and Audrey will only join them "together

as they join wainscot" so that one of them "will prove a shrunk panel and like green timber, warp;" etc., etc. Once in a while, rarely, the figure is on a scale which approaches the grand, as when Rosalind reproaches Silvius for following Phebe

> Like foggy south, puffing with wind and rain.
> (III, v, 50)

Through the images of *As You Like It* we get glimpses into the quiet, rustic life of 16th-century England just as through the Homeric similes of *The Iliad* we have flashbacks to the pastoral life left behind by the Achaeans warring on the fields of Troy. The difference is one of scale.

The wit in *As You Like It* is never ostentatious or extraneous, but grows directly out of the dramatic circumstances framing the incidents in which it occurs and is in keeping with the characters who voice it. There is much thoughtful laughter about life, but little playing with words and no playing with words solely for the play as in other comedies. Even when a passage of wit is prolonged beyond the bounds of what the immediate circumstances seem to justify, it can be seen to possess an organic connection with the deep, underlying theme of man and his destiny on earth, creature of curious imperfections and practices. The most conspicuous illustration of this is in Touchstone's disquisition almost at the very end of the play on the seven degrees of the lie, culminating in his pronouncement of "If" as the "only peace-maker." In his expatiating he says nothing related to what has happened before his appearance or to the action which follows at once. But what felicitous laughter about a branch of human behavior! And how in keeping with the substance and tone of the play!

Indeed it is a marvel that young as he was at the time of *As You Like It,* Shakespeare should have had an image of life in his mind so complete, so rounded, so congenial, and so harmonious. In his play of atonement he has drawn men and women with a humanity akin to that of the Mozart of *Don Giovanni,* the Wagner of *Die Meistersinger,* and the Strauss of *Don Quixote.*

Earlham College

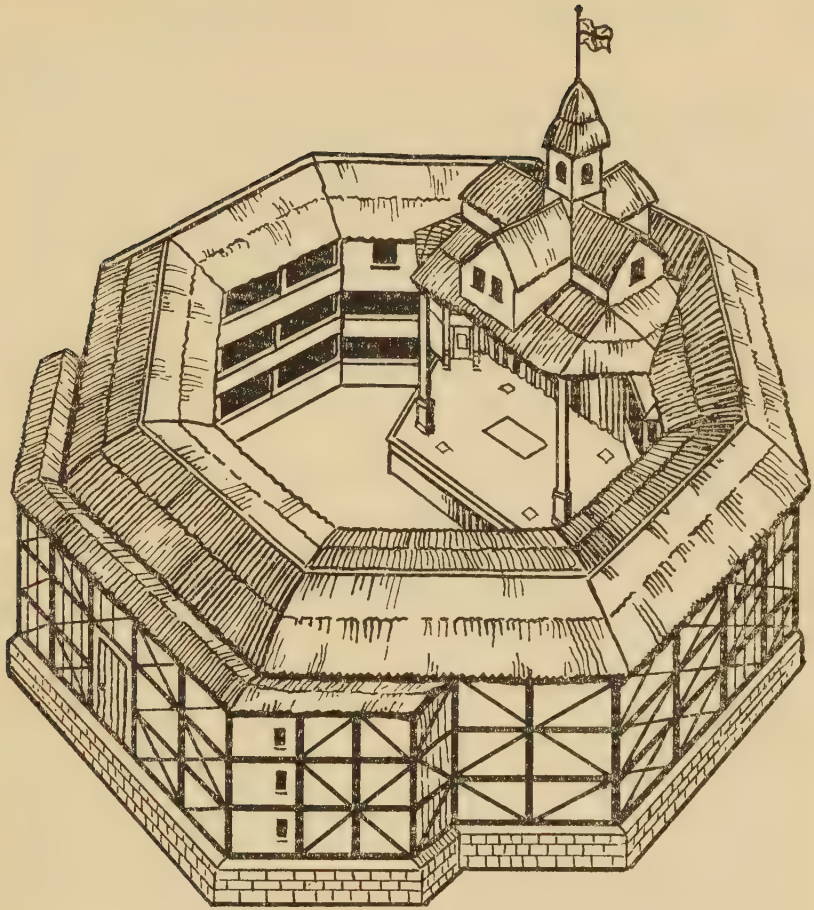
THE STRUCTURE OF THE FIRST GLOBE THEATRE

By Rennie Barker

IN considering the structure of the Globe Playhouse, it is most important to assess correctly the relative value of the evidence concerning the construction of the building. Architectural evidence, whether structural, historical or documentary, must be given more weight than that which is obtained from rough sketches or from purely literary sources.

Conclusions based on sketches or drawings only may easily be misleading, because the artist in attempting to give a picture of a part of a city (or a group of buildings) may be more concerned with portraying a general or overall impression rather than an accurate representation of a particular building. The temptation to sketch a polygonal building round would be quite strong owing to the difficulty of drawing such a building accurately. Further, it is important to appreciate the "view-point" of the artist, for few things can be more misleading than sketches of buildings drawn in pictorial perspective. This applies particularly to height in relation to width, and, to a lesser degree, to the actual shape of the building. Again, an artist in using light and shade in order to give the necessary three-dimensional effect may give the impression of a group of *stone* buildings, whereas the historical architectural evidence may clearly show that the buildings were constructed of timber.

In addition to evidence obtained from architectural, documentary and literary sources, there is a fourth kind: the financial one. For example, to know the maximum takings of the theatre and the prices of admission may give us reliable information about the size of the building. Or if the cost of building in stone is far higher than the known cost of erecting the theatre under consideration, it would be reasonably safe to rule out a stone structure.



LINE DRAWING OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE FIRST GLOBE THEATRE BY THE AUTHOR.

Concentration on the pictorial evidence to the exclusion of the other three sources of evidence has led Mr. J. A. Shapiro, in his article on "The Bankside Theatres" (in *Shakespeare Survey,* Vol 1), to conclude that the pre-Restoration playhouses were cylindrical in shape. The evidence supplied by the other three sources, as I hope to demonstrate, shows, however, that the first Globe Theatre was certainly, and the second probably, octagonal in shape.

The first task is to prove that the playhouse framework was constructed of timber and not of stone, and the second is to demonstrate that it was structurally and economically impracticable to build the playhouse round, had it been made of wood. If this can be done, then the pictorial evidence dealt with in so much detail by Mr. Shapiro must be discounted.

In the contract for the Fortune Theatre, built one year later than the Globe, and by workmen under the direction of the same master-builder, Peter Streete, Henslowe's and Alleyn's instructions to the contractors were to produce a replica of the Globe in every important respect, except that the new structure should be square. It is specifically stated in the contract that they find "All manner of woorkmen *Tymber Joystes Rafters* boordes dores hinges *brick* Tyle lathe lyme haire sande nailes lade Iron Glasse woorkmanshipp and other things whatsoever wch shalbe needefull Convenyent & necessarie for the saide fframe & woorkes &c . . . And shall alsoe make all the said fframe in every poynte for *Scantilinges* lardger and bigger in assize Then the Scantlinges of the *Timber* of the saide newe erected howse called the Globe." (Underlinings my own.)

There is no mention in any part of the contract (nor in the Hope contract) of stone or flint being used. The "brick" mentioned is to be used for the foundations, as stated earlier in the contract. The fact that the frame is to be made of timber is proved by the order for "scantlings" (the cross-section to be larger than that used in the Globe). Again, it is stated that the full sum of £440 shall be paid "Att suche tyme And when as the Tymberwoork of the saide fframe shalbe rayzed and sett upp." This method of building was, of course, the same as for all Elizabethan houses and barns. Yet again, we read in the contract that "All the princypall and maine postes of the saide fframe and Stadge forwarde shalbe square," and in the Hope contract these inner posts up to the first "storie" were to be ten inches square.

Though there are repeated references to the "frame" in the contract, there is not a single mention of any distinction between inner and outer walls. Nevertheless, it has been maintained that the exterior wall of the Globe Theatre was circular in shape and that the inner walls were octagonal. Such a construction would not only be architecturally impracticable, but would be entirely unnecessary and against the method of building in Tudor times. It would mean, of course, that the outer walls would have to be made of stone. Flint is out of the question, for the cost of transport from outside the city and high cost of "dressing" such a hard and brittle material would render the overall cost far too high.

The reason why such a structure with outer walls, presumably of stone, and the inner frame, certainly of wood, would be architecturally impracticable, is that the binding joists stretching from the inner principal posts (vertical) to the outer walls would have no end thrusts to offset the stresses pressing outwards, starting from the roof rafters. To ensure the safety of the building it would be necessary to build buttresses to take the downward and outward thrusts, especially those operating at the top of the outer wall of the tiring house, on which was the superstructure of huts with their heavy timber frames. There would have to be some very special advantages in building a cylindrical theatre for the owners to incur such trouble and the large expense involved. The engravings, moreover, show a uniform and conventional exterior, and though they often show a total disregard for accuracy when representing wall surfaces, there would surely have been some sign of the buttresses had they been used.

Evidence against the circular stone exterior walls is also forthcoming in the Fortune contract, which stipulates, as previously stated, that with the exceptions of shape of frame and of certain inner constructions, the theatre had to be a replica of the Globe. The contract declares: "All the said frame and staircases thereof to be sufficiently enclosed *without* with lath, lime and hair." This appears to be proof positive that the walls, exterior as well as interior, were not of stone construction.

If further proof is needed to show that the whole framework of the Globe was made of timber filled in with "lathe, lyme and haire," it is to be found in references to the disastrous fire of the play-

house in June, 1613, as described in several contemporary accounts. Howe, in his continuation of Stowe's *Annals,* wrote ". . . and in a very short time the *whole* building was quite consumed." Had the outer walls been made of stone, that part of the structure would have remained intact. Sir Henry Wotton, in a letter to his nephew, wrote that the fire consumed "within less than an hour the *whole* house to the very ground . . . wherein nothing did perish but wood and straw, and a few forsaken cloaks." It is the *whole* house that is burnt down, including, of course, the thatched roof (straw). The reference to "nothing did perish" is to the audience and actors—"only one man had his breeches set on fire."

Ben Jonson, in his poem, "An Execration upon Vulcan," wrote—

> "The Globe, the Glory of the Banke,
> I saw with two poore Chambers taken in,
> And razed e're thought could urge this might have been!
> See the worlds Ruines! nothing but the piles
> Left! and wit since to cover it with tiles."

After the conflagration nothing is left but the piles on which the theatre was built.

Some other, negative, evidence can also be put forward. Negative evidence of the right kind may prove of real value: as, for example, an alibi to a man accused of murder! We are apt to overlook the fact that while it is architecturally easy to build circular buildings of stone, like the Greek auditoriums, the Roman amphitheatres, or the Albert Hall, it is quite another proposition when wood is the medium, especially a hard wood like oak, generally in use in Tudor times.

It has already been shown that it would have been exceedingly difficult, and certainly impracticable, to construct a three-story theatre (plus the superstructure of the huts) with an inner octagonal frame of timber and an outer cylindrical shell of stone. As for an inner circular framework, even if it were possible to make it of timber, it would call for such a large number of prick posts as would impede the view of the audience in the three galleries considerably—a consummation devoutly to be *avoided.*

To make a circular theatre of timber would require the breast-summers to be bent. The Elizabethans could not bend oak beams:

neither can modern builders. The breastsummers could be cut to the shape of the radius if the scantlings were wide enough, but the labour and time involved in doing this would be tremendous, and would result in almost fabulous cost, such as no Elizabethan theatre owner would contemplate. I know of no Tudor timber-framed structure cylindrical in shape in the country. Certainly there is none in Stratford, where one would expect to see one had any existed, nor is there a single case of bent or curved oak beams in the town.

The Fortune theatre contract rules out the possibility that the Globe was square, and so we are left with the shape as octagonal. The pictorial evidence can be taken as favouring either round or octagonal, but as it has been demonstrated that the Globe theatre could not have been round, we are left with the alternative shape, octagonal.

It should be noted that an octagonal-framed theatre presents no serious architectural problems as a round one would do. The foundations would be easier and quicker to construct, the framework made of timber with ordinary joinings; one side of the frame could be used as the back of the tiring house; the erection of the galleries and staircases would be a more straightforward job, and the timber roof simple to make and assemble.

How much of the old material from the Theatre was used in the building of the Globe is not known, but the proportion would appear to have been high. The case for this is presented in *The Globe Playhouse* by John C. Adams, Chapter 2.

Careful consideration of the evidence, therefore, is, in my opinion, overwhelmingly in favour of the Globe theatre having been octagonal in shape: its frame of oak timber, and the spaces between filled in with laths, lime and hair, with possibly a layer of plaster.

Bristol, England.

A useful, compact handbook of sound information on *Shakespeare and the Players* by C. Walter Hodges with a Foreword by Professor Allardyce Nicoll has been issued by Coward-McCann, Inc. ($2.50). With attractive illustrations of Shakespeare's London, the Theatre and the Curtain and the Globe playhouses and scenes from various plays, and with a sound, non-technical text, it serves as an admirable short introduction to the Elizabethan theatre that can be absorbed at a sitting, as readily by grammar, high school, as by college students and teachers.

JULIUS CAESAR AT THE FOLGER SHAKESPEARE LIBRARY

By Wallace A. Bacon

EVER since the dedication, on April 23, 1932, of the magnificent structure housing the world's finest collection of Shakespeareana, visitors to the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D. C., have looked with something other than antiquarian eyes upon the modified Elizabethan theater which occupies the east wing of the building, picturing, in their mind's eye, the pomp and pageantry which ought, surely, to be seen now and again upon that stage. But until the week of March 28, 1949, no company of actors had ever made use of the platform, the study and the chamber, the stage doors and tiring rooms. Beginning on that date (a Monday) and continuing through Thursday evening, with matinees on Tuesday and Wednesday, the Masquers of Amherst College, Mr. Folger's Alma Mater, brought the theater to life with a production of *Julius Caesar.* (See illustrations on page 173).

It might have been more interesting to the scholar, perhaps, to have seen one of the less frequently produced plays of Shakespeare. Other plays would have permitted greater use of the unique properties of the Library's stage, for *Julius Caesar* made no use of the window stages (though it is true that sight lines for the windows are bad), nor did it find particular use for the chamber (the inner stage on the second level) except for the orations of Brutus and Antony, the proscription episode between Lepidus, Antony, and Octavius, and Pindarus' viewing of the battle in V. iii. And it must be said that the Brutus, not physically suited for the part, suffered from a restriction of emotion, except for the fine scene in IV. iii where Brutus quarrels with Cassius. But these seem minor reservations in the face of a production which proved splendidly exciting and which demonstrated beyond question the fact that the platform stage is the proper stage for Shakespeare.

The Folger Library stage is equipped, of course, with modern lighting, of which the Masquers made full use without in any way permitting the stage lights to minimize the effects of Shakepeare's own descriptive passages. Indeed, Mr. McGoun's method of lighting the storm sequences in the early part of the play, so that the entire auditorium seemed to be under an open sky filled with flashes of lightning, proved more effective than any other storm lighting I have ever observed in the theater. One could not help thinking how marvelous an effect it would create in *Lear*. Nor (to answer an objection frequently raised to the storm episode in that greatest of the tragedies) did the effect of the splitting sky and the pealing thunder diminish the size of the human actors upon the platform.

The production followed most carefully the view that scenery and locale received but brief consideration on the Globe stage. Tables, chairs, a bench, a taper—these were carried on and off with a minimum of flourish and without calling attention to the exigencies of place. The study was hung, for the tent scene, with a semicircular arras stained what seemed to be a deep brownish-purple, and apparently supported by slanting tent poles; the resulting effect was completely convincing—far beyond the effect created by the usual pathetic square of canvas propped upon a yardstick. Perhaps the single objection which might be raised against the physical production concerns the handling of the break. More than others of the plays, *Caesar* provides difficulties in the matter of dividing the action into two halves, the custom followed in most modern productions of Shakespeare. The Masquers broke it after III. i, a break which is on several counts to be defended. But seemingly to build up that rather unemphatic position for a break, they chose to mount Caesar's throne upon a stage wagon, and to draw Antony and Octavius' servant back into the study upon it as the curtains were drawn together. The wagon seemed a false accessory.

The main thing to be said about the costumes is that they were consistently kept Elizabethan. No Roman togas appeared to appease those who expected Romans to look like Romans. Taking their cue from Casca's statement about Caesar that "he pluck'd me ope his doublet," the actors were dressed as Renaissance men, though Caesar wore a mantle of royal purple.

The text received very careful attention in the production. Act I and Act II remained uncut. Something like 100 lines were cut from

Act III, some 30 from Act IV, and something like 40 from Act V. Including a fifteen-minute interval at the break, the traffic of this stage was only slightly more than the traditional two hours.

One of the cuts disposed of a problem which vexes many students of the play. The second passage mentioning the death of Portia (Messala's announcement to Brutus) was deleted, eliminating Brutus' strange pretense that he did not know of his wife's passing, although he had described it to Cassius not 40 lines earlier. This cut is conventional, and no doubt desirable. Another cut, the longest in the play, was perhaps less successful: the deletion of Antony's servant in III. i, as he bears to Brutus the news that Antony wishes to return to hear more of the reasons behind the act of the conspirators. While it is not necessary to believe, with Granville-Barker, that this short episode constitutes the crisis of the play, it is still true that it is the beginning of the rise, and makes a far better entrance for Antony than is possible without the lines. The young actor who played the rôle was forced to make a conspicuously unemphatic approach to Brutus and Cassius at a moment when emphasis would have contributed to the effect.

The real joy for the spectators of *Julius Caesar,* however, lay not so much in the treatment of the text and the handling of physical properties (though these, of course, aided in the total measure of the play's success) as in the keen sense of contact with the stage and the actors which the platform made possible. While it is true that the Folger Library's modified theater (seating a total of 260 spectators: 202 on the main floor and 58 in the single upper gallery)[1] is far smaller than the Globe as described by John C. Adams (a total of 2048 spectators: 600 in the yard and the remainder in the galleries, gentlemen's rooms, and on the stage), it is probably likewise true that the theater-in-little at the Library comes closer than does the modern proscenium stage to the effect of direct contact which must have been present in the Elizabethan playhouse. Indeed, the Amherst Masquers found a distinct difference between playing *Caesar* upon a replica of the Folger theater built by their designer, Mr. Rogers, upon their own college stage behind a proscenium (though with a platform extended into the house) and playing upon the platform not framed by a proscenium opening. Suddenly the actors seemed larger, their movements more subject to close scrutiny from three

sides, their voices stronger. If Mr. Adams is right, the Globe stage extended halfway into the yard, so that even if it be pared down from the effect in the Folger theater, the sense of nearness to the action must have been far keener in the Globe than in contemporary playhouses.

For once the armies crossing the stage to the sound of drums and the flourishes of trumpets seemed wholly credible as armies. The width of the platform (45 feet at the greatest expanse), the depth of the stage from front rail to the rear of the study (30 feet, the depth of the study being 10 feet), and the breadth of the stage doors (varying from 3 to perhaps 5 feet) permitted the audience to hear the tramp of feet beginning in the tiring house, and gradually echoing louder upon the platform as the troops appeared with their banners. Groupings were managed excellently by the director of the Masquers, Mr. Curtis Canfield, who, indeed, must be given much of the credit for the results.

Asides delivered at the front rail brought the actors directly down to the audience. Using the pillars as sight masks and aided by the width of the house, the actors could seem credibly to whisper unheard by their fellow actors half the stage away from them. Antony, speaking from the chamber above the study, and leaning down over the rail to cry out to the citizens assembled below around Caesar's black coffin, seemed prompting the audience itself to action, for both citizens and audience looked upward into the chamber as he spoke. And how much meaning those conventional Shakespearean phrases took on in their proper setting: "Who comes here?" "Come down." "Good friends, go in." "Portia, go in a while." While the outdoor scenes lost nothing of their strength from being performed before the fixed setting, the interior scenes gained strangely from the solidity of the doors and walls. The point would seem to be that Shakespeare supplied in his verse what the stage lacked in the way of exterior setting, but relied somewhat less rhetorically upon the fixed scene for his interiors. At least it seemed so with *Caesar*. And delivered from what seemed more a rostrum than a theater stage, the rhetoric sounded less a flourish and more an outburst of passion than one imagines it to be when viewing the ubiquitous Mr. Evans. In spite of the recent acclamations of Hollywood and other accrediting agencies, it may even be said that an amateur *Caesar* under such

conditions is far more satisfying than such an unShakespearean performance as the *Hamlet* of Sir Laurence Olivier, though his *Henry V* was quite another matter.

The young actors on the whole did their work with remarkable finish. Cassius was particularly fine; Antony, though less polished (indeed, less experienced) as an actor, proved to be very effective; in spite of the shortcoming already remarked upon, Brutus possessed a certain finish and grace of movement which in part atoned for the fact that he was not often a truly reflective Roman. The minor characters were genuinely good; so small a part as Artemidorus, for example, remains vivid in memory. It may be observed in passing that the Cinna the poet episode seemed to draw upon Orson Welles' handling of the episode in the Mercury Theater *Caesar* of a number of seasons ago, and did not thereby gain in effect, for surely there is a particular Shakespearean humor in the scene which ought not so nearly to be sacrificed.

All in all, the Amherst Masquers are to be commended for their production, and the officials responsible for at last making use of the Folger Library's Elizabethan theater must always deserve the gratitude of those who were fortunate enough to see the performance of *Julius Caesar*. How much such a staging is to be preferred to the (by comparison) one-dimensional effect of the proscenium stage was made decisively apparent to those who, the following Sunday, watched the same play (and the same stage, though with the action somewhat altered) on television, where almost all the directness of speech and movement seemed to have vanished into thin air. While it is true that the best of Shakespeare was not of an age, but is for all time, it is equally true that even the best of Shakespeare is likely to gain by being viewed against the scene for which and out of which it was written. This is by long consent the scholar's view. How surprising it was to some non-scholars (and even belligerent non-scholars) to discover that they agreed.

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[1]The structure actually includes a spectators' gallery on the third level; but since the stage has only two levels and the roof of the heavens cuts off the view from the third-level gallery, that gallery is never used for spectators.

QUARTERLY REVIEWS

Titus Andronicus

By Thomas Marc Parrott

TITUS ANDRONICUS is the latest volume in the New Cambridge Shakespeare now being edited by the ingenious and always stimulating English scholar, J. Dover Wilson. It is a welcome addition to the series for it presents for the first time an authentic text of the play based upon Q 1, with the addition, naturally, of a scene, 3.2, which appears only in the Folio. This reproduction of the original text has been possible only since the appearance in 1936 of the facsimile of the unique copy of Q 1, 1594, one of the special treasures of the Folger Shakespeare Library. In addition to the text, this volume includes an Introduction of lxxi pages which contains among other things an interesting stage history of this rarely acted play. There is also a study of the 'copy' for the variant texts, a note on the frontispiece, the sole contemporary illustration to a Shakespeare play, copious notes, and a glossary.

The main interest of this early and, it must be owned repulsive, play is bound up with the question of Shakespeare's authorship. As early as 1598 Francis Meres included it in his well-known list of Shakespeare's plays, and Shakespeare's fellows embodied it in their collected edition of his dramas, the First Folio. This would appear to be irrefutable testimony as to Shakespeare's authorship, yet the inevitable recoil of lovers of Shakespeare from the grisly horrors of this play has led many critics to reject it from the canon and to find or invent reasons for discrediting Meres and the editors of the Folio. That, in the main, has been the attitude of English scholars such as Robertson and Greg. As late as 1929, after all that had been written on the question, an English critic, John Bailey, calmly declared: "Of *Titus Andronicus* I need say nothing as scarcely anyone thinks Shake-

speare wrote it." The Germans, on the other hand, less easily shocked, perhaps, and familiar with the early extravagances of their own great dramatists, were inclined to accept it as Shakespeare's youthful experiment in popular Senecan tragedy. A third school, represented in this century mainly by Americans, has found a *via media* by dwelling on Shakespeare as the revisor of an old play, a revisor whose work was so thorough as to justify Meres and Heminges and Condell in ascribing the play as it stands to him. It is to this school that Dover Wilson belongs, and one of the merits of this edition is his frank acknowledgment of American scholarship, a happy contrast to the somewhat supercilious attitude of certain of his fellow countrymen.

It is the opinion of your reviewer that Professor Wilson proves, so far as proof is possible in these matters, the case for the revisionists. He does this by a scene by scene analysis, racing through the play like a hound after a fox, questing for the trail of Shakespeare in parallel passages, in characteristic mannerisms, and in flashes of dramatic characterization. The quest yields no trace of the quarry in the long scene which fills the first act. On the contrary that scene is heavy, one might almost say rank, with the scent of George Peele, his monotony, his dramatic flatness, his cliches and repetitions, and with parallels to his known work, especially to his *Honour of the Garter,* 1593, a date to be remembered for Wilson makes play with it hereafter.

After the first act, however, the case is altered. The trail of Shakespeare runs plain from the first scene of act two to the very end of the play. Yet in these four acts there are few scenes that seem to Wilson straight Shakespeare; again and again he labels a scene: "Peele rewritten by Shakespeare." *Titus Andronicus,* then, according to Wilson is the joint work of Peele and Shakespeare. How did this collaboration between an old stage hack and a young poet, author at best of a play or two—Shakespearian chronology before 1594 is most uncertain—come about? Wilson answers this question in the fourth section of his Introduction: "How it all happened."

It is beyond the scope of this review to follow in detail Wilson's elaborate and, at times somewhat involved argument, but a summary noting its main points may clarify his position. Peele, he thinks, wrote a short play on the story of Titus for performance in the provinces in 1593 when the London theaters were closed by the plague. He sold this play to Strange's Company, who turned over a transcript of their prompt-book to Pembroke's Men, an offshoot, apparently, of

Strange's. By September, 1593, however, Pembroke's Company was back in London, bankrupt, "fain" in Henslowe's words "to pawn their 'parel," i.e. their costumes. By December a drop in the number of deaths from the plague made a reopening of London theaters possible, and a minor company, Sussex's Men, acquired the acting rights of *Titus* for a season they were planning at Henslowe's theater, the Rose, opening December 26. For a London performance, however, a full length five act play was required and Peele was called on to expand his original work; traces of his additions are plainly visible in the Alarbus and Mutius episodes[1] of the first act. Haste, however, was imperative if the new version was to be rehearsed and promptly staged, and so Shakespeare, author of the best seller of Elizabethan poems, *Venus and Adonis,* 1593, was called on to assist Peele. Wilson is not as clear as one would wish as to the nature of this collaboration, but he suggests (p. 1) that when "Shakespeare had Peele's additions before him he could not keep his fingers off them." Be that as it may, the revised play—Henslowe marks it "ne," i.e. new or revised—was staged with great success at the Rose on January 23, 1594. It was twice repeated,[2] the last performance coming in February 6, when a fresh outbreak of the plague again closed the London theaters. The closure must have been foreseen, for on that very day *Titus Andronicus* was entered by Danter in the Stationers' Register and published later in the year. Wilson guesses that the Sussex Company, bankrupt like Pembroke's before them, paid the collaborating playwrights by returning to them the "foul papers," i.e. the original manuscript, and the official prompt-book.[3] Peele, he thinks, sold the manuscript to Danter while Shakespeare retained the prompt-book for later performances by his fellow actors who staged it during their brief season at Newington Butts in June, 1594.

These dates, December 26 and January 23, are highly significant in their bearing on Shakespeare's participation in *Titus Andronicus.* It is known that he did not go on tour with Strange's Company in the summer of 1593, but stayed in or near London at work on the "graver labour" which his dedication of *Venus and Adonis* had promised Southampton. This "labour" was his long narrative poem, *Lucrece,* and he was presumably still engaged on it in December, since it was not ready for publication until the spring of 1594 when on May 9 it was entered in the Stationers' Register. Now *Titus Andronicus* is packed with parallels to *Lucrece,* some of them merely verbal, but others of such a nature as to proclaim a common author-

ship. Other parallels in the play to Shakespeare's early work might be attributed to plagiarism by some other poet who wrote or revised *Titus,* but only Shakespeare could have lifted words, lines, and similes from his unpublished *Lucrece* and embodied them in the play. The case for Shakespeare's hand in the scenes where the *Lucrece* parallels occur seems to be demonstrated[4] and once we admit his presence there, we are justified in finding it in other scenes where parallels and striking likenesses to his known work appear.

Why not then, it may be asked, frankly ascribe with a later American scholar[5] the whole play to Shakespeare? The answer is given in the frequent parallels to the work of Peele which occur throughout the play and in the sudden shifts within a single scene from the hack work of an old playwright to the poetic dramatic style of Shakespeare. Perhaps the best example of such a shift is in act two, scene three, where it is as impossible to imagine Shakespeare writing the first ninety to one hundred lines as it is to conceive Peele writing those in which Lavinia pleads for the chastity dearer to her than life.

There is however, one striking Peele parallel whose significance Wilson does not seem fully to appreciate. This is the curious word, "palliament," which occurs, according to the Oxford English Dictionary only in *Titus* and in Peele's *Honour of the Garter.* The word was apparently coined by Peele, *primus verborum artifex,* as Nashe called him, from the Latin *pallium.* It is used correctly in the play to denote the white gown of a Roman candidate for office; in the poem, on the other hand, it has no real revelance to the robe worn by the royal founder of the Order of the Garter. Wilson admits that the line in *Titus* (1.1.182) must have been written before that in the poem where it is simply thrust in to exhibit Peele's classical scholarship. Now the *Honour of the Garter* can be very exactly dated in June 1593, and if the line in *Titus* precedes the poem, Peele's work on the play is thrown back to an uncertain date before that time. What becomes then of Wilson's notion of the "genesis" of the play in Peele's hands in the summer of 1593 at the very time he was writing the Garter poem? It would appear more likely that this "genesis" must be set at an earlier date, perhaps even earlier than the patent allusion to *Titus* in *A Knack to Know a Knave,* 1592. Possibly the best answer to this puzzle is to assume a Peele *Titus* play before 1593 and to accept the various parallels between our play and the poem as lifted by Peele from the play and embodied in a poem written in haste to be dedicated to his patron, the Earl of Northumber-

land, created a Knight of the Garter on June 26, 1593. In that case one might limit Peele's revision of his old play to the episodes already mentioned in Act I, imagine him incapable of finishing his job in the brief time allowed—Peele was notoriously unreliable—and assume a summons to Shakespeare to complete the work. Then, of course, Peele's manuscript must have been turned over to Shakespeare to deal with as he pleased and consequently Shakespeare alone is responsible for the text as it stands.

The last section of the Introduction deals mainly with Shakespeare's attitude toward this bloody melodrama. Catching a hint from Mark Van Doren's *Shakespeare,* 1939, Wilson proceeds to point out passage after passage in scenes ascribed to Shakespeare of such "bleating pathos" and "tawdry rant" as could only have been written by the poet "with his tongue in his cheek." Sometimes Shakespeare seems to be parodying the turgid rhetoric of earlier playwrights: sometimes he even gives his own work in *Lucrece* a satiric comic twist as when he compares the mutilated form of Lavinia to a public conduit pouring out blood from three spouts. And it is not only in the diction that this mockery appears; some of the stage business is in fact simply ludicrous as when Lavinia picks up the severed hand of Titus with her teeth and trots off the stage after him "for all the world like a little puppy dog." What, Wilson asks, can have induced Shakespeare to perpetrate such nonsense? The answer he finds in the impoverished condition of the profession at the end of the plague year, 1593. *Titus* had been a successful play in the provinces; a fresh version heightening its extravagance would be a drawing card in London, and with the opening of the Rose in December 1593 there was a chance of profit not only for the actors but also, no doubt, for the poet who provided them with a new vehicle. There can be little doubt, although Wilson does not say so, that in December 1593, Shakespeare himself was in rather low water. He had stopped for a time performing as an actor: the money he had received for the manuscript of *Venus and Adonis* must long since have been spent, and his *Lucrece* was still unfinished. If Alleyn, Henslowe's son-in-law, who had been touring with Shakespeare's fellows in the summer, came to him with an offer of ready cash to finish the job Peele had left undone, Shakespeare probably jumped at the chance; he was always a practical man.

Whatever we may think of it *Titus Andronicus* was, Jonson tells us, the dear delight of the Elizabethan public. Shakespeare's

Company thought so well of it that they retained it in their repertoire even after they became the King's Majesty's Servants. In fact some time after 1594 they induced Shakespeare to write a new scene (3.2) which for wild rant and false sentiment yields to no other in the play. Perhaps the epithet "bravado," which Walter Raleigh applies to Shakespeare's spirit in this play, fits the case more precisely than Wilson's note of "burlesque." Shakespeare, a true Elizabethan, was less squeamish than modern critics; he may actually have enjoyed the general massacre with which the play ends; certainly he indulged himself in something very like it in the last scene of *Hamlet.* This was what the groundlings wanted, he knew; well, they should have it in full measure, pressed down and running over, and the horrors of the action would be heightened to the spectators by the lacrymose laments which he could so easily compose. We need not labor this point; after all there is but a narrow margin between bravado and burlesque.

It is perhaps unfortunate that Wilson, who repeatedly refers to the lost play, *Titus and Vespasian,* did not take the trouble to lay the ghost of that play which, since Cohn's publication, 1865, of a German version of *Titus Andronicus,* has haunted all discussions of Shakespeare's play as a possible source. The one link between the lost play and *Titus* is that in the German version Lucius, the son of Titus, is called Vespasian. But with the sole exception of the protagonist, Titus, *all* the characters in the German bear other names than those in Shakespeare's play. Wilson is mistaken when he says, p. xli, n., that the name of Saturninus survives in the German text; it does not; that character is known only by his title, the Emperor, as Aaron is by his race, Morian, the Moor. Lavinia becomes Andronica; Bassianus is her husband, *Andronicae Gemahl,* and Marcus is Victoriades. It seems clear that the English actors who took the play to Germany had forgotten the original names of all except the hero, or else preferred to change them, and since a name was needed for Lucius, who, by the way, plays a more important role in the German than in the English version, they simply baptized him with a name that in history as well as in drama was linked with that of Titus, i.e. Vespasian. That the historical Vespasian was the father, not the son of Titus, would not trouble the actors in the least. After all, however, when Wilson has done so much so well, it is hardly fair to blame him for having left a minor matter undone. His work as a

whole can be commended as by far the best existing edition of this much debated play.

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[1]These episodes, by the way, are wanting, though Wilson does not say so, in the German version of the play reprinted in A. Cohn's *Shakespeare in Germany,* which may quite well be an adaptation by English actors of the unrevised play for performance on the Continent.

[2]It was the only new play for this season at the Rose and after the first rush of the opening performances brought in better returns than any other play, surpassing even that old favorite, *The Jew of Malta.*

[3]This mode of payment seems unlikely; Elizabethan playwrights, if we may judge from Henslowe's records, were usually paid in advance, and Sussex's Company was hardly bankrupt for it joined the Queen's Men for a brief season in April 1594.

[4]This insistence on the decisive value of the *Lucrece* parallel is not new with Wilson; it had been advanced by Austin Gray (*Studies in Philology,* 1928) but Wilson has rescued it from the neglected pages of an academic journal and advanced it with fuller illustration and greater authority.

[5]Hereward Price in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology,* January, 1943.

Mr. Heilman on King Lear

By R. W. Babcock

I

Heilman, Robert B., *This Great Stage: Image and Structure in 'King Lear',* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948, pp. xi + 339, $3.50.

The method involved in Mr. Heilman's book is perhaps best expressed in his own words at the beginning:

> The methods upon which the present essay fundamentally relies will not seem strange to anyone who has some acquaintance with the techniques of poetic analysis that have come into general use during the last two decades. Recent criticism has been primarily concerned with matters of tone and with the function of central poetic devices —of irony, for instance, and the suggestive value of images and metaphor, and symbol. . . . (p. 4)

These methods, hitherto applied by the so-called "New Critics" to lyric verse, will now be applied to drama, where the "structural problem has special complexities that require extensions and ampli-

fications of the method" (pp. 4-5). "The language of Shakespeare's plays has always been a stimulus to critics" (p. 5), for it always arouses a "'swarm of feelings'" (p. 6), and "Part of the subject of the present essay is the genesis of such feelings in the reader of *King Lear.*" "For the student of *Lear* soon discovers that certain key words continue to be repeated more or less regularly throughout the play" (p. 6)—"families of terms . . . clustered about some root-ideas—an idea such as sight or disease or age or sex" (p. 7).

He admits that Miss Caroline Spurgeon instigated this sort of study of Shakespeare but complains that she relegated "the discernible language patterns of the plays" to merely a "supplementary role;" in other words she missed "the organic nature of the imagistic systems" (p. 7). But in *Lear* "the imagery groups are not merely theme supporters but theme carriers. When images become symbols, they become integrated into the total structure" (p. 8). We get beyond the "literal meaning" of a word, and "Repetition itself is a mode of meaning" (p. 9)—for example, the lines about nature in *Lear* "form a community" (p. 11). Thus "a series of dramatic statements about one subject does constitute a bloc of meaning which is a structural part of the play." (p. 11).

He cites Cleanth Brooks as his master in this attempt to achieve Shakespeare's "larger meanings'" (p. 13), and he adds that "the special patterns of meaning in *King Lear* are so complex that it may be judicious . . . to trace the occurrences of one family of images—images which occur relatively infrequently and yet tend to take on a symbolic significance which can be related to a central theme of the play" (p. 14).

The sight pattern he treats first generally, by reference to classical drama—"sight is insight," symbolically—and then moves to the various patterns of *Lear.* "I am using the word pattern," he announces, "to denote a combination or system of poetic and dramatic elements which can be shown to work together in encompassing a body of meaning that has a place in the over-all structure of the play (p. 24). The four main "dramatic facts" of the play are "the blindness of Gloucester," "the violence of the storm," "the nakedness of Edgar" and "the coming together of different kinds of real or apparent mental disorders" (p. 24); all of these "are very active on the symbolic level" (p. 24), and they "react upon each other"; "they are prepared

for, and they are followed up," and they are partly dependent upon "organic bodies of language" (p. 25).

He then explains the symbolism of each of these four, and points out their interrelationship. "I believe," he remarks, "that *King Lear* is finally a play about the ways of looking at and assessing the world of human experience." "Thus we have moved into the realm of metaphysics, a realm in which the play is speculatively very active." "The examination of the patterns should lead to some statement of the theme," which "must include also an account of the *tone* which is at the heart of the author's interpretation of his materials" (p. 29).

"In tragedy," he continues, "the outer clash is symbolic of the movement of universal issues and is at the same time an objectification of the war within the protagonist" (p. 31). "Tragedy . . . presents man as understanding his deviation, undergoing a spiritual rehabilitation, recovering the insights by which he may endure" (pp. 31-32). "This is the kind of tragic structure exhibited in *King Lear*" (p. 32). It is "clear even at the plot level" (p. 33). "But . . . what is the meaning of the actions of Lear and Gloucester?" (p. 33). "The fact is that [their] mistakes do illustrate certain qualities of mind which we must seek out; and for the definition of these qualities we must rely upon the patterns of imagery" (p. 33).

The succeeding chapters then discuss, in natural sequence, the various patterns: II Sight, III Clothes, IV and V Nature, VI "The Age and Justice Themes," VII Values, VIII and IX Madness, X Religion, and XI Conclusion.

Always the emphasis is on the symbolism[1] of each pattern: "Thus the symbolism becomes explicit: Gloucester here (in IV, i, 19) summarizes his whole career": " 'I stumbled when I saw' " (p. 44). And generally out of this symbolism comes a paradox[2] (as is obvious in the last quotation): "It is one of a series of paradoxes which, developed by the patterns, are the main structural determinants of *King Lear*" (p. 50-51). "Each pattern"[3] also "points to the problem of values" (p. 53 and see Chap. VII). The supporting imagery itself is always given with detailed precision[4]—cf., the animal and sex imagery on pp. 93ff.; "Shakespeare uses the animal imagery to describe the condition of man as well as the character of man" (p. 105). Sometimes it may all get a bit complex: "So *nature* has different meanings in the usage of different moral agents" (p. 115), but nature generally in the play "is a principle of order" (p. 127); "In

fact, the age pattern is almost an exact logical extension of the nature pattern; the two views of age virtually coincide with the two interpretations of Nature" (p. 143).

On p. 153 Mr. Heilman carefully sums up his book so far. But Chapter VIII is the longest and the basic chapter of the book. Here he adds the madness pattern to the others and proceeds to recapitulate them all (especially on pp. 178 ff.). Obviously they belong all together, for they are in action all together, and so perhaps this eighth chapter should have come first as groundwork. As "the center of the pattern" (p. 197) he chooses the spot in IV, 6, where Lear enters, "crowned with weeds," and "speaks about one hundred lines—his most important in the play". These speeches "are *a nexus of all the main lines of development in the play*" (p. 198—his italics). "Here we find, united in a single impact, the sight, smell, clothes, sex, animal, and justice themes that move throughout the play. And they are organized by means of the madness theme." In Lear's madness, therefore, "there is unity" (p. 199).

The remaining three chapters are not so important, so far as the exposition is concerned. By the end of the book Mr. Heilman has convinced himself that *Lear* is more Christian than pagan. In the final chapter, pp. 282-284 more or less sum up the whole book.

II

Prof. R. S. Crane has shown the philosophical bankruptcy of the Cleanth Brooks type of criticism.[5] Prof. E. E. Stoll has pointed out the historical blind spots in such criticism.[6] I should like to approach this book primarily from a purely dramatic point of view.

Here is a book written about a Shakespearean play, written in its turn for an *audience*—and a special type of audience, at that, historically—and yet Mr. Heilman never once mentions the word audience[7] anywhere in his book! He substitutes the words *reader*[8] and *student*[9] persistently: Nor does he use the word *actor*[10] in the book, and only occasionally the word *character*[11] in its normal sense in a play. He prefers words like *metaphysics or metaphysical, dichotomy, philosophic.*[12] Now and then he refers to *conflict,*[13] the basis of all dramatic tension, but never to *foreknowledge,* the fundamental structural device of all good drama. He prefers words like *paradox,*

symbolism, patterns[14] (see his own index for the long list of references to each of these). In short, this is not regular dramatic criticism of a Shakespearean play, intended for the enjoyment of an early 17th century audience—or *any* audience for that matter. It is *closet* criticism, written by a super-aesthetic scholar for his friends in the "New" super-aesthetic group.[15]

Some of the symbolic interpretations may disturb even the closet-reader of the book: with regard to the Fool's riddle about one's nose, ". . . it is never good policy to dismiss a joke merely as a joke" (p. 14). Why not? What were the groundlings there for? "Lear has his crown of thorns—a symbol of the anguish which is the heart of the redemptive experience" (p. 78). This is out-knighting Mr. Knight himself! On the Dover Cliff scene (p. 260): "The episode is very strongly reminiscent of the temptation of Christ (just as Lear, who enters ten lines later with his crown of nettles and weeds, is reminiscent of Christ in another way)." Karl Young used to teach this play *wholly* as a *pagan* play; I wish he were alive now to read that remark, and the whole of Mr. Heilman's Chapters X and XI on the sublime Christianity of *Lear.* It is true that most of these rather forced symbolic excursions[16] appear in the notes, at the back of the book (see especially pp. 306, 307, 308, 321 and 323), and even Mr. Heilman himself is a bit worried here: "It may be pushing the evidence too far to suggest that . . ." (p. 307). If all this is a little startling to the average closet-reader, what would it have been to the Elizabethan audience?

Mr. Heilman thinks neither Caroline Spurgeon nor Cleanth Brooks went far enough along the primrose path to everlasting mysticism, and he is going to outstrip them.[17] He does. But he never outstrips Mr. Brooks and most other romantics (I would not include Miss Spurgeon here) in his confidence in his own ideas. Mr. Brooks' famous "must" passage about the symbols in *Macbeth*—" 'which' ", as Mr. Heilman himself quotes (p. 13), " 'we must understand if we are to understand either the detailed passage or the play as a whole' " —finds its echoes in Mr. Heilman's similar *must* passages throughout his book.[18] The present reviewer long ago pointed out this tendency to self-confidence among romantic critics in an article on G. Wilson Knight in the *Sewanee Review* in July, 1934. Practically everything said there about Mr. Knight applies equally well to Mr. Heilman—

symbolism, self-satisfaction and all. For the White Knight rides again (with thanks to my good friend, W. S. Knickerbocker)!

Mr. Heilman, then, is not interested in simple drama, in dramatic structure or characterization or in the Elizabethan frame of reference. Shakespeare's exposition, and his preparation for Lear's madness or Cornwall's temper-fits, do not impress him. He never notices Gloucester's trick of repetition in discourse, though he actually quotes it once (p. 137); and he merely counts Cordelia's lines in order to show her lack of importance in the play;[19] yet Cordelia *is* an extremely powerful character in Act IV, Scenes 4 and 7. One hundred lines would not let Mr. Heilman find in Cordelia's speeches all the significant "patterns" which Lear produced in one hundred lines of madness! Hence the problem of the creation of character as such does not attract Mr. Heilman. (Yet he has written a book on *Understanding Drama.*) He himself admits that perhaps these methods of his friends, the 'New' Critics, may not actually apply to drama: What does he mean then by his term, "dramatic facts?"[20] "It is hardly necessary to remark," he declares, "that the distinction between poem and drama raises more difficulties than it settles" (p. 298). *Has* he ever faced these difficulties?

There is very little basic historical criticism in the book.[21] Historical critics themselves he uses only when they support his own ideas: Granville-Barker, for instance and once he attacks Mr. Stoll for the latter's reflections on Mr. Brooks. With regard to other critics —and Mr. Heilman knows a lot of them, mostly romantic with others derived from Furness (see his index)—there is no need for any 'new' critic to tell us about the intellect of Shakespeare's villains (pp. 220 and 238), as Mr. Heilman cites Brooks and Warren (p. 328) to support himself: Kittredge was teaching this idea fifty years ago.

Curiously enough he sneers at the 18th century,[22] but his mental acrobatics in Chapter I are reminiscent of W. Richardson's psychological gyrations on *suspicion* in 1774,[23] and his whole imagery-association idea was practically anticipated by Walter Whiter in 1794:[24]

> I define therefore the power of this *association* over the genius of the poet, to consist in supplying him with words and with ideas, which have been suggested to the mind by a principle of union unperceived by himself, and independent of the subject, to which they are applied.

Must we then forget Whiter and all historical critics and simple dramatic criticism and let these 'new' critics march on the stage — in place of the actors—each with a symbol pinned to his back—to present the play?

I shall not delve into textual criticism in the book. Mr. Heilman accepts my colleague, Leo Kirschbaum's accent on the folio text[25] and presumably reproduces it throughout the book; I have made no check of this. I do think that perhaps individual words should be reviewed in the light of their *Elizabethan* meaning[26]; e.g. *darker* (p. 306) means *more secret,* not necessarily absence of light or even anticipation of the future; and what about *cowish* (p. 315), and *shield* (p. 311)? It is interesting again to see the great predilection for sex[27] present in all these "new Critics."

Finally the iteration of the patterns, values, symbols, paradoxes, etc., etc., somewhat palls on the reader after a hundred pages. As indicated above, Chapters I and VIII are the most important, so that the whole book could probably have been cut in half, with the concentration placed on those two chapters. There are a few obvious remarks[28] and one or two downright errors,[29] but the most amusing statement rises naturally from all this "19th century" idealism of the practical dramatist Shakespeare: for the 19th century insisted that he anticipated Harvey on the circulation of the blood; Mr. Heilman, true product of his romantic forbears, declares: ". . . in thus presenting madness at two levels, Shakespeare does the very thing sometimes regarded as experimental in modern fiction" (p. 208).

Yet of course all this vigorous idealization of Shakespeare is stimulating and suggestive. The problem is to keep it within the practical bounds of the theatre (and the Elizabethan period, to some extent). Mr. Heilman's style itself throughout the whole book is vital and seductive. His knowledge of various critics of Shakespeare, new and old—but mostly romantic—is nothing short of astonishing and he produces evidence from the play for each of his "patterns" with great profusion.[30] His best contribution, though, lies in his keen characterizations, especially of Gloucester,[31] Edgar[32] Lear,[33] Goneril and Regan,[34] when he drops his symbolic mask and analyses directly. The whole of Chapter IX is an example of what Mr. Heilman could do in straightforward characterization if he would only dispose of the old-man-of-the-sea, Symbolism, hanging around his neck. In fact, it is sad to see him make a complete about-face at the end of this fine

chapter and cover the last two pages with his master's clichés: paradoxes, symbols, etc., etc.

III

The question is now what to do with this sort of modern criticism of Shakespeare. It certainly deserves a place in the firmament even though it deliberately evades the theatrical aspects and so overlooks some of the basic problems of the play.[35] Historical critics themselves err just as badly as aesthetic critics in throwing the whole accent on their pet type of criticism. To rescue aesthetic criticism from such symbolic depths as the present book displays, this reviewer suggests a thorough study of speech rhythms in Shakespearean drama, to determine why, for instance, the character of Cordelia is so powerful in the few lines she has in *Lear*. This idea has already been started on its way by Mr. Stoll[36] and Mr. Draper.[37] The problem is to develop a *method* of analysis, and this I do not think either Mr. Stoll or Mr. Draper has accomplished yet.

Wayne University

Mr. Heilman's book has a rather inadequate index—hence the careful paging.

[1]Compare pp. 78, 100, 108, 117-18, 170-71, etc. and see his index for the term.

[2]Compare especially pp. 151 and 171 and see his index for the term.

[3]See his index for a long list of references to this idea.

[4]See pages 141, 194, 226, for example.

[5]R. S. Crane, "Cleanth Brooks; or the Bankruptcy of Critical Monism," in *MP*, XLV (1948), 226-45.

[6]In *ELH*, March, 1946 and *MLR*, January, 1947. See also the recent article by Prof. O. J. Campbell, in the *J. Q. Adams Memorial Volume* (Washington, 1948) pp. 81-95. Mr. Campbell's last footnote defers to Mr. Stoll.

[7]The nearest he comes to it is *auditor*, on p. 5, and this is not his word; he is quoting somebody else. On p. 308 he refers to "the educated," which may mean the intellectual element of the audience—but more probably the study.

[8]See pp. 5, 6, 13, 199-200, 213, etc.

[9]See pp. 6, 173.

[10]On p. 278 he remarks, "The players on this great stage are fools," but that is merely a reference to a metaphorical implication of his own title taken from *Lear*, IV, 6, 161-62 (Rolfe text):

> "When we are born, we cry that we are come
> To this great stage of fools . . ."

[11]See Chapter II and IX, by development only; also pp. 31, 304, 336.

[12]*Metaphysics* or *metaphysical*—pp. 28, 67, 177, 284; *dichotomy*—p. 28; *philosophic*—pp. 108, 197.

[13]See p. 28 and Chapter XI.

[14]See notes 1, 2 and 3 above.

[15]See his index for these critics as a whole: Blackmur, Brooks, Empson, Kirschbaum(?), Ransom, T. Spencer, Stewart, Warren.

[16]See also pp. 47, 61, 82, 85, 101, 102 (and note), 124, 159, 169-70, 200-01, 228, 237, 282. These are merely a few outstanding samples.

[17]See pp. 7 and 297 for his specific admissions. See his index for further references to both. In general he defends Knight, but on pp. 317 and 320 he definitely points out shortcomings in his 'master'.

[18]For his own *must* passages see pp. 33, 135, 166, 169, etc.

[19]Pp. 301 and 311. Even G. L. Bickersteth in his *The Golden World of King Lear* (British Academy Lecture, 1946), p. 11, objects to this sort of measurement of Cordelia's lines.

[20]On pp. 24, 25, 26.

[21]On pp. 134 and 304 source study is suggested and on p. 300 he discusses Miss Campbell's ideas.

[22]P. 5: "Even in the eighteenth century . . ."

[23]See *The Genesis of Shakespeare Idolatry,* (Chapel Hill, 1931), p. 173.

[24]See *The Genesis,* p. 180 and W. Whiter, *A Specimen of a Commentary on Shakespeare,* (London: Cadell), 1794, p. 68.

[25]P. 303.

[26]Would it be too presumptuous to ask him to consider Elizabethan psychology itself in discussing the words in the play? Cf. Louise C. T. Forest's admission about "the concrete psychological basis of much of its imagery"—in "A Caveat for Critics," *PMLA,* LXI (1946) p. 670.

[27]See pp. 98ff., 313, 314, 326, etc.

[28]Pp. 256 and 257: on the former, the last sentence about France, and then the next sentence that runs over on p. 257.

[29]On p. 323 he writes: "As far as I know, no modern critic shares the passion of certain nineteenth-century critics for clinical analysis of Shakespearean characters." But see reprint of Ernest Jones' "Psychoanalytical Study" of *Hamlet* (Vision Press Series; New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1948).

On p. 331 he calls S. L. Bethell's *Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition* (London, 1944) an "excellent study," but see the *TLS* review of July 8, 1944, p. 333.

[30]See note 4 above.

[31]Pp. 49, 125, and Chapter VIII.

[32]P. 51.

[33]Pp. 53, 56, and Chapter VIII, etc.

[34]Goneril and Regan—p. 58 and Chapter IX.

[35]That is, politics, staging, acting tradition, biographical criticism, sceptical criticism, Elizabethan psychology, comparative study, dramatic structure, sources, etc. Perhaps Edith Sitwell's new book, *A Notebook on William Shakespeare* (Macmillan, 1948) will throw more light on these problems of the play. The *TLS* for October 16, 1948, announces that "she has discovered fresh sources of the inspiration behind *King Lear,* throwing a new light on the whole play" (p. 580).

[36]See *MLR,* XXIII (1928), pp. 145-63; *Poets and Playwrights* (1930), Chapter I and pp. 128-29; *PMLA,* XLVII (1932), pp. 701-02, 712-13; *Art and Artifice* (1933), pp. 45, 104-5; *Shakespeare's Young Lovers* (1937), pp. 27, 29; *Shakespeare and Other Masters* (1940), pp. 132, 152, 164-65, 176, 204, 249, 251, 351; *PQ,* XXIV (October, 1945), pp. 295, 308.

[37]Among many articles, see *Neophilologus,* (October, 1946); *Anglia,* (August, 1946); *English Studies,* (June, 1947); etc. See also J. W. Draper "Patterns of Humor and Tempo in *King Lear,*" *Bulletin of the History of Medicine,* XXI (1947) pp. 390-401.

YODER ON ANIMAL IMAGERY

By John Hannigan

MISS AUDREY YODER'S book, *Animal Analogy in Shakespeare's Character Portrayal* (King's Crown Press, New York, 1947) is divided in three parts. First, a dissertation on Shakespeare's allusions and semi-allusions to Aesops Fables; second, a presentation of his non-Aesopic animal comparisons, and finally, a series of Notes, Appendices and a long Bibliography.

The author worked at Illinois under the distinguished Dr. T. W. Baldwin while he was engaged in writing his *Smalle Latine and Lesse Greek* (1944). Miss Yoder assisted him in his research on Aesop, and has, since her work with him, continued her investigations along the same line. While Dr. Baldwin's effort was merely to identify Shakespeare's grammar school Aesopic Latin text, Miss Yoder's was to present Shakespeare's artistic and dramatic technique in using Aesop. Dr. Baldwin succeeded. Miss Yoder adds little to his chapter, or to the current learning of reasonably well-read students of Shakespeare.

In Part II the study presents 2500 animal comparisons; some hundred or more, classified, are set forth in the text. For the other 2400 the reader is relegated to a wilderness of notes, graphs, comparative columns, and long lists of play references, calling for a secondary and laborious research from the reader who is interested. On page 27 the author says: "No one has analyzed the specific way in which Shakespeare uses the artistic device of animal metaphor for a consistent portrayal of individuals and groups, and I propose to attempt a beginning of such an analysis."

With courage, industry that probably extended through years, and unusual aptitude for research, this beginning was made and followed through. If Shakespeare uses this common literary device of animal metaphor more often and more artistically than other poets, it is merely because the volume and the poetic quality of his work is in all respects greater than theirs.

The Editor regrets to announce the decease on February 26, 1949 of John Hannigan, who wrote the review printed above shortly before his death. Mr. Hannigan, for many years an officer of the Shakespeare Association and a leader of Shakespeare interests in Boston, was the inspiration of the Shakespeare Club of the Boston Bar Association.

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE SHAKESPEARE FESTIVAL OF 1949

American members of the Shakespeare Association who are planning trips to Europe this summer will welcome the following information, obtained from Stratford-upon-Avon, and presented here to help readers plan their visits to the Memorial Theatre in its Ninetieth Season.

The Shakespeare Festival for 1949 opened with *Macbeth* on Saturday evening, April 16th. There will be evening performances six days a week, Monday through Saturday, with matinées on Wednesdays and Saturdays, until the closing date of October 1st. Featured this summer will be presentations of *Macbeth, Much Ado About Nothing, A Midsummer Night's Dream, Cymbeline, Othello,* and *King Henry VIII.*

The Godfrey Tearle production of *Othello* with Diana Wynyard, presented last year, received such wide acclaim that it now returns to the stage with the same cast. It will open on the evening of June 17th. Miss Wynyard and Mr. Tearle will also play Macbeth and Lady Macbeth in Director Anthony Quayle's production of that play.

Only the schedule for the first eight weeks of the season has been made available so far; from May on, it will be as follows: (* denotes matinée performance as well as regular)

Macbeth, Prod. by Anthony Quayle, May 2, 7*, 10, 12, 17, 23, 25*, 31; June 4*, 8*.

Midsummer Night's Dream, Prod. by Michael Benthall, May 4*, 6, 9, 14*, 18*, 24, 26, 30; June 6*, 10.

Much Ado About Nothing, Prod. by John Gielgud, May 3, 5, 11*, 13, 16, 19, 28*; June 1, 3, 7, 9.
Cymbeline, Prod. by Michael Benthall, May 20, 21*, 27; June 2, 11*.

King Henry VIII will not open until July 15, under the direction of Tyrone Guthrie.

Tickets are available by writing to the box office for reserved seats, (enclosed stamped addressed envelopes are required,) or through most of the Stratford hotels, through several London hotels, or through any representative of Messrs. Keith Prowse & Co. Ltd., 159, New Bond Street, London, W. 1. They range in price from 10/6, 7/6, 5/- in the stalls and dress circle, to 2/6 in the balcony. The Manager advises previous bookings to avoid disappointment in the "phenomenal demand" for seats at each performance.

About a quarter of a million people are expected to come from all parts of the world to this summer's Festival, after last year's most successful season ever. The new Director, Anthony Quayle, has taken over, and the productions have a new and exciting flavor in the old and familiar setting of Warwickshire.

SHAKESPEARE ON WHEELS

The greatest single figure on the modern Shakespearean stage, both as actress and directress, is Margaret Webster. This winter and spring she has brought a new idea—or a very old idea—into Shakespeare production with her touring company presenting *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* all over the United States.

A brief look at her Shakespeare career will reveal how extraordinarily qualified she is to bring these two great plays into the colleges and towns of this country which have never seen such productions before. Several seasons with the Old Vic in London preceded her coming to New York to stage *Richard II* at the specific request of Maurice Evans. She then staged for him the full length *Hamlet* and *Henry IV,* followed by *Twelfth Night* and *Macbeth,* with Helen Hayes and Judith Anderson in the last two respectively. She produced also Paul Robeson's *Othello* and *The Tempest* with Vera Zorina.

For the American Repertory Theatre of which she was co-founder, she directed *Henry VIII.* She has written *Shakespeare Without Tears,* as well as several articles on the Bard.

She thinks of the present "Shakespeare on Wheels" troupe, the Margaret Webster Shakespeare Company, as beginning "the building of a bridge between the professional theatre in America, whose business it is to produce the great plays of the past, and the students all over the country who are engaged in the study of them . . ." Foremost in the excellent cast aiding her in this endeavor are Carol Goodner, who plays the Queen in Hamlet, and Lady Macbeth; Alfred Ryder, Hamlet and Malcolm, and Joseph Holland, Claudius and Macbeth. With stage designs by Wolfgang Roth and music by Lehman Engel, with twenty-two actors and five technicians, the Company covers about 80 engagements, some as far as two hundred miles apart. They have been met with acclaim all over the country, not only for their superb productions, but for the merit of their original idea —to bring great plays to life "for audiences who, perhaps, know them only from the printed page."

Correction: The first paragraph in the second section of "Current Fashions in *Hamlet* Criticism" in the January issue should have made clear that Dr. Frederic Wertham's analysis of Hamlet moved G. W. Stonier to pronounce it the most influential since Bradley's.

SHAKESPEARE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

(A Classified Bibliography for 1948)

Compiled by

DOROTHY R. TANNENBAUM

THE following bibliography, based on an examination of the contents of more than 1,400 periodicals and hundreds of books in the N. Y. Public Library and in the library of Columbia University, is a continuation of those published in the January issues of this Bulletin for some years past. Only those items have been listed which were thought to have contributed a new idea or a new fact. The names of female writers, if known, are distinguished by a colon after the initial letter of the baptismal name. The titles of books and pamphlets are printed in italics. If no year of publication is mentioned in connection with an item, 1948 is to be understood. The following abbreviations have been employed:

B	—Bulletin	*HLQ*	—*Huntington Library Quarterly*
Ba	—*Baconiana*	il(s)	—illustration(s)
Cambr	—Cambridge	intr	—introduction
comp(p)	—compiler(s)	J	—Journal
CU	—Columbia University	*JEGP*	—*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
cy	—century		
Diss	—Dissertation	Libr	—Library
ed	—editor	Lit	—Literature
Edinb	—Edinburgh	Ln	—London
edn	—edition	M	—Magazine
EHR	—*English Historical Review*	*MLN*	—*Modern Language Notes*
Elizn(s)	—Elizabethan(s)	*MLQ*	—*Modern Language Quarterly*
Engl	—English	*MLR*	—*Modern Language Review*
FQ	—*Faerie Queene*	Mo	—Monthly

The Editor expresses his thanks to Mrs. Tannenbaum for compiling the Bibliography for 1948, and is glad to acknowledge aid fully given by Dr. Herman I. Radin, William B. White and Russell N. De Vinney.

MP	—*Modern Philology*
Wash	—Washington
MS	—Manuscript
N.C.	—North Carolina
NQ	—*Notes and Queries*
NY	—New York
Oxf	—Oxford
P	—Paris
p(p)	—page(s)
pl(l)	—plate(s)
PMLA	—*Publication of the Modern Language Association*
PQ	—*Philological Quarterly*
Pt	—Part
prodn	—production
Q	—Quarterly
R	—Review, Revue
RES	—*Review of English Studies*
SAB	—*Shakespeare Association Bulletin*
Sec	—Section
Sh	—Shakspeare
SJ	—*Shakespeare Jahrbuch*
Sp	—Spectator
SP	—*Studies in Philology*
SRL	—*Saturday Review of Literature*
tr(r)	—translator(s)
TLS	—*Times Literary Supplement*
U	—University
UP	—University Press

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TOURNEUR, CYRIL

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TRAGEDY

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UDALL, NICHOLAS

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INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS

Occuring in the 1948 Bibliography

Compiled by DOROTHY R. TANNENBAUM

A

Abelson, A: 569
Abelson, A 570 576
Aberpennar, D 264
Acting 1-5
Adams, J C 523
Adams, J Q 42 158
Aeschylus 115
Ager, C: 454
Aire and Angels 205
Ajax 667
Akrigg, D P V 340 776 778
Alchemist, The 282 284 294
Alexander, P 125 255
Alford, H 288
All's Well 384
Allegory 690
Allen, D C 758
Allen, P 382
Allen, P S 243
Altrocchi, R 321
Anatomy of Melancholy 47
Anderson, F H 19
Anniversaries, The 199
Annunciation & the Passion 200
Anthologies 6-7
Anthony & Cleopatra 219 385-96
Apologie for Bartholomew Fayre 291
Aquinas, T 708
Arcadia 587 679 719 721 725
Aristocracy, Elizn 328
Armstrong, E A 109 126 132
Armstrong, W A 714
Arnheim, R 493 634
Arther, J 10
As You Like It 215 397 398
Ashley, R 176
Ashmore, B 306
Astrophel & Stella 718
Atkin, J W H 89
Atkinson, B 409 541 543 622
Atthill, R 417
Authorship 8-9

B

B, D H 685
Babb, L 356
Babcock, R W 71
Babler, O F 557
Bacon-Sh question 9-15
Bacon, D: 206
Bacon, F 11-13 16-27 382 758
Bacon, Friar 257
Bacon, R 23
Baker, H K 26
Bald, R C 208 210 522
Baldensperger, F 53
Baldwin, T W 55 76 144
Banks, T H 647
Bankside theatre 766
Barfield, O 17
Barker, G 403
Barnes, H 541
Barton, M: 50
Barrymore, J 459
Battenhouse, H M 450
Battle, G A 33-34
Baugh, A C 40
Baum, H: W 278 287
Bax, C 691
Bayley, J 439
Beaumont & Fletcher 28-34 106 217 251 318
Beaumont, C 261
Beese, M A 724
Belleforest 466
Bentley, G E 767
Bentley, J 184
Benyei, P S 258

Berghius, H 645
Berkelman, R 650
Berkowski, N 696
Bethell, M A 686-88a
Bethell, S L 684
Beyer, W 389
Bibliography 35-42
Biddulph, L 12
Biography 43-45 83
Birin, J: C 15 449
Birthplace 46 320
Bischoff, D 270
Bishop, D H 579
Black, M W 221 630
Blackfriars theatre 767
Bland, D S 532
Boas, F S 301
Boase, T S R 131
Boethius 747
Bolingbroke 623
Bond, W H 184 720
Boris Godunov 273
Bourgeois, J 440
Bourges, E 251
Bowers, F 343
Bowers, R H 172
Boyce, B 87
Boyle, D J 14
Bradbrook, M C 32 289
Bradner, L 86 92 732 736 749
Bridgewater, H 9
Brome 217
Bronson, B H 56 526
Brook, P 698
Brooke, T 44 46 49 51 59-60 92 112 114 228-29 247 307 432 518 601 670 705 746 763
Brooks, C: 688
Brown, H 282
Brown, I 506
Brown, J M 393 517 530
Browne, T 708
Browning, R 331
Brunschvigg, L 361
Bryson, J 102
Buchanan, G 726
Buck, K: M 740
Buffum, I 354
Buford, A H 149
Bühler, C F 186
Bullett, G 462
Burke, K 74
Burton, R 47-48 318 708
Byrne, M 119

C

C., A 334
C., O G S 341
Calderon 499
Calendars 342
Cameron, K: 454
Campbell, L: B 90 98 107 121 155 467
Campbell, O 514
Campbell, O J 114 152
Cantor, A 332
Caron, W J H 238
Carr, G: 331
Carter, A H 651
Catholicism 223
Cecil, W 159 224
Celebrations 49-50
Chambers, E K 82
Chapman, G 8 106 217 310 544
Charlton, H B 67 146 434 503 520 536 603-04 629 631 638 665 771
Charney, B L 713
Chew, S C 398
Christ 79 130
Ciceronianus 262
Clark, D L 240
Clarke, G H 130
Clarkson, P S 755
Classics 51-52
Clemen, W 759
Cleopatra 245
Clowns 113
Clurman, H 451 562
Coleman, R 541
Colloquialisms 687
Comedy of Errors 399
Commentary 53-158
Complaint of Philomene 252
Condee, R W 297
Conklin 463
Connor, S V 485

Contemporaries of Sh 159-82
Contemporary poetry 183-87
Cook, A 454
Cook, D 414
Cookson, G 447 534 546
Copyrights 327
Corbet, A 293
Coriolanus 400-04
Craig, G 418
Craig, H 35 44 61 127 143 150 338 384 394 397 399 404 406 433 488 494 496 498 502 505 519 528 535 566 577 583 586 602 612 614-15 628 632 638 646 652 656 659 664 671 677 681 683 689
Crashaw, R 188
Creelman, E: 454
Cross, B: 427
Croston, A K 374
Crowther, B 454
Cruttwell, R W 438
Culdee, C 326
Cymbeline 405-06
Czechoslovakia 557

D

D., T 8 748
D'Agostino, N 309
Dahl, C 718
Daiches, D 70
Danby, J F 508
Dane, C: 335
Danks, K B 529
Daniel 580
Daniel, S 189-92
Darlington, W A 478
Davies, J 193-94
Davis, B E C 729
Dawson, C A 457
Dawson, G E 158 327 355
Dédéyan, C 358 363 366 370
Defense of Women 748
Deformed Mistress 716
Degroote, G 242
Dekker, T 195 316
Deloney, T 191
Denmark 38 197
Dent, A 458
Descartes 361
Deutschbein, M 429-30
Dickens, C 511
Discorsi 706
Discourse of War 706
Dittfield, K T 740
Dobbs, L 8
Dodds, M H 692
Dodds, W M T 492
Donald, L: 336
Donne, J 198-212 268 318 687 708
Douglas 485
Downs, B W 38
Drake, F 226 341 704
Drama, Contemporary 214-19
Draper, J W 435 554 621 660
Drayton, M 191 687
Duchess of Malfi 777
Duhamel, P A 719
Dunkle, W D 142
Dunlap, R 90 200

E

E.K. 737
E., S Y 490
Eagle, R 302 304
Eastman, A M 222
Eastman, F 79-80
Eberle, G J 195
Eccles, M 676
Eckhardt, A 368
Editing 220-22
Editors 220-22
Egerton, T 160-61
Elfin chronicle 728 740
Eliot, T S 756
Elizabeth, Queen 223-30 254
Ellis, H 305
Ellis, O C 245 386
Ellis-Fermor, U: 62 100 308
El Sagaz Estacio 29
Elson, J 507
Elton, W 682
Elyot, T 231-322
Emerson, R 339
Engelhardt, G J 241

Environment 233-34
Erasmus, D 235-44
Eric 470 472 608 654 673 680
Essex, Earl of 26 168 625
Esterow, M 700
Evans, G B 287
Evans, M 49 460
Eve of St. Agnes 735
Everitt, E B 710
Every Man in His Humour 295
Ewing, S B 322

F

F., L 282
Faerie Queene 527 731-32 736 739 747 749
Falk, R P 117
Falstaff 480 489
Fallon, G 415 465
Family of Love 195 315
Farbman, N R 410
Farnham, W 145
Fate 58
Feasey, E: 379
Feasey, L: 377 379
Feibleman, J 407
Ferrar, J 279
Field, N 167 217
Films 329 410 414 423 427 439 445 449 451-52 454-55 458 461 465
Flatter, R 140 426 697
Fleming, P 599
Fletcher, I: 704
Fletcher, J 245-46
Flood, J M 717
Folger library 319
Folios 247-48
Ford, J 217 249 251
Forman, S 171
Fort, J B 515
Fowler, R A 441
Fox, L 320
France 250-51
Freeman, R: 63
Freidkina, L 513
Freimer, G: R 183
French criticism 93

G

Garcia, V B 330
Garland, R 541
Garrick, D3 50 510
Gascoigne, G 252-54
Gassner, J 390
Gaxotte, P 606
Gentry, R J W 13 16 21 24
Gerard, A 141
Gerold, A W 2
Ghost in drama 216
Gibbs, W 562
Giersach, W 198
Gifford, H 273
Gilbert, A H 290
Gilbert, M 547
Gilbert, N 500
Glasson, T F 115
Golden Apples 267
Golding, N: L 648
Goodere, H 201
Gordon, R G 436
Gorelik, M 116
Grace, W J 98
Grammar 255
Granville-Barker 99 127
Gray, H D 416 649
Greene, R 256-59
Greenlaw, E 742
Greg, W W 283 342
Greville, F 260
Grierson, H J C 212
Guernsey, O L 282
Guilpin 168
Gulick, S L 590
Gundry, W G C 23 159
Guttmann, S: 53 64
Guttmann, W 588

H

H., J J 420
Hablützel, M: E 196
Hale, C: 233
Hall, Bishop 162-63 177-78 708
Hamer, D 744
Hamilton, R 104
Hamlet 219 407-79 622 762

Hampden, J 539
Handwriting, Sh's 261
Hard, F 745
Harbage, A 75 91 112 125 151
Hardenbrook, D 468
Harrison, G B 4 121 143 401 709
Harrison, T P 109 303 325 349
Harvey, G 106 262-63
Hassall, C 774
Hauchecorne, F 369
Hawkins, W 541
Heilman, R B 155 509 516
Heine, A 581
Heizer, R F 341
Heltzel, V B 27 122 160-61 173 176 191
Henry IV 480-91
Henry V 492-95
Henry VI 496
Henry VIII 497-99
Henslowe, P 572
Herbert, G 264-65
Herford, C H 283 289
Hero & Leander 311
Herrick, M T 73 123
Herrick, R 266-69
Herrington, H W 64
Hess, M W 267
Hester, J 180
Hicks, L 753
Himmelstein, M Y 215
Hinman, C 594 610 642
Hirsch, R 354
History plays 69 90 98 107 121 150 155
Hobbes, T 708
Hodges, C W 5
Hoepfner, T C 383
Holmes, M R 163
Honig, E 285
Hoppe, H R 637
Horace 266
Howard, E J 232
Höweler, H A 238
Hubler, E 72 75
Hughes, M Y 747
Huloet-Higgins Dictionarie 165
Humor 554
Hundreth Sundrie Flowres 253
Hungary 239
Hunt, R W 171
Hunter, W B 552
Huntley, F L 205
Hussey, D 476
Hussey, M 312
Hutchins, R 173

I

Iago 501
Imagery 63 66 74 89 118 122 138 219 715
India 318
Influence 79 270-73
Irony in poetry 688
Irwin, M: 230
Italy 274-76

J

Jackson, T 210
Jackson, W A 182
Jeffries, R 276
Jenkins, H 372
Jenkins, R 737
Jessica 568 573 575
Jew of Malta 303 313
John, L C 175
Johnson, E D 22 25
Johnson, F R 715
Johnson, S 201 222
Jones, D E 216
Jones, E 421 474
Jones, T H 138
Jonson, B 5 25 217 219 251 277-95
Jorgensen, P A 616
Joseph, M 73
Judson, A C 729 733 749
Julius Caesar 500-03
Juvenal 178

K

K., H 474
Kavanagh, M: 551
Keats, J 682 735
Kendrick, T D 740
Kermode, F 497
Keuls, H 645
King John 504-07

King Lear 219 508-24 679 762
King, T 129
Kingsmill, H 425
Kingston, W 3
Kliger, S 619
Knight of the Burning Pestle 315
Knight, G W 77
Knox, J 757
Knox, R S 137 148
Kocher, P H 180 300 308
Kökeritz, H 111
Kramer, J M 235
Kroeger, T 443
Kronenberger, L 541
Krutch, J W 558
Krzyzanowski, J 28
Kuersteiner, A: D 723
Kyd, T 466

L

Lambard, W 161
Lambin, G 625
Lancaster, H C 337
Landstone, C 512
Lane, J: 752
Lang, D M 411
Language 73 296
Lavrin, J 333
Law, R A 190 466 574
Lawrence, W W 408
Lea, K M 489
Lebel, R 764
Lebois, A 251
Le Comte, E S 168 483
Lecuyer, M 358
Leech, C 76
Legouis, P 669
Lehmann, J 698
Leishman, J B 486
Lenoir, R 361
Lewis, C D 687
Lewis, C S 596
Leyburn, E: D 690
Lievsay, J L 57 351 381 748
Linde, E 571
Lindsay, J 585
Lodge, O 269
Lodge, T 297
London 298
Longworth-Chambrun, C: 153 250
Lorenzo 573
Love songs 101
Love's Labour's Lost 525-29
Lucan 297 310
Luciani, V 706
Lucus 43
Lumiansky, R M 643
Lyly, J 215

M

M., R 469
Mabbes 248
Macbeth 219 440 530-65 714
McDowell, J H 751
McGinn, D J 567
Machaut, G de 756
Machiavelli, N 274-76 706 714
Mackenzie, A: M 754
Mackenzie, B: A 642
Mackerness, E D 781
McKisack, M: 192
McLane, P E 99 730
MacLiammoir, M 695
McLuhan, H M 118 482
McManaway, J G 82 158 185 299 319
McNeir, W F 120 257
McNulty, R 259
Macready 511
Madariaga, S D 419 424 448 462 471
Manifold, J 373
Mann, I: R 699
Manners, R 175
Manuscripts 299
Markovitch, M 366
Marlowe, C 5 300-13 379
Marot 311
Marston, J 5 106 217 714
Martin, L 81 134
Martin, L C 310
Martin, S: 81 134
Martz, L L 199
Marvell, A 314
Masefield, J 540
Masques 290 293
Massacre at Paris 303

Massinger, P 217 314
Mataraly, P V 531
Matthews, H G 701
Maurer, K W 443
Mavortio 768
Maxwell, B 315 317
Maxwell, J C 202 313 402 481 549 661 775
Measure for Measure 450 566-67
Mégret, M 367
Meissner, P 770
Melbourne, W 210
Merchant of Venice 568-82
Merleau-Ponty, M 357
Merry Wives of Windsor 583
Micha, A 364
Michaelmas Term 316
Middleton, T 217 315-17
Midsummer Night's Dream 318 584-89
Military books 346
Milton, J 240 682 760
Mirandula 297
Miscellanea 318-56
Moholi, J: 239
Monologue 429 431 531
Montaigne, M de 357-71 430 549
Montemuro, N: 277
Moore, Sir Thomas 372
Moore, F H 780
Moore, J R 582
Moreau, P 363
Morehouse, W 541
Mother Hubbard's Ape 733
Much Ado About Nothing 590-92
Mueller, G E 464
Mueller, W R 42 518
Muir, K 532 565 611
Murley, C 173
Musgrove, S 213
Music 86 373
Myrick, K O 91

N

Nashe, T 374-79
Nathan, G J 292 395 537
Nathan, N 572 578
Neale, J E 227
Nearing, H 501 527
"Nether" 594
Newberger, R 353
Nicoll, A 95 319-20 512 662 689 695 750 765-67
Nicolson, H 380
Nieman, F 598
Nikolsky, D 711
Noble Arte of Venerie 254
Nolan, E F 644
Norman, C 301 641
Nosworthy, J M 166 548 556 657
Novalis 272
Nowak, H: 597

O

O'Conner, F 352
Oliver, H J 77
Olivier, L 410 414 423 445 449 451 454-55 475
Of Honour 176
Of Specters 173
Old Vic 4
Ophelia 346
Orsini, N 106
Orthography 380
Othello 593-610
Overbury, T 381
Ovid 185
Owen, W J B 743
Oxford 234
Oxford theory 382-83

P

Pafford, J H P 684
Paracelsus 12
Parker, A A 499
Parker, W R 41
Parks, G B 345
Parr, J 580
Parrott, T M 348 613
Parry, W 753
Parson, R 179
Partridge, A C 281
Partridge, E 72 102 133
Pascal 361
Patchell, M 57 68 120
Pattison, B 86
Paul, H N 563
Pearce, T M 463 678
Pedantius 262

Peele, G 215
Pelswick, R 454
Pembroke family 724
Pericles 611-14
Perry, T A 339
Perry, W 167 194 323
Peter, J D 768
Pettet, E C 83 658
Petty, J: M 437
Phelan, K 559
Phillips, J E 726
Phoenix 317
Phoenix symbol 15
Piers, J 730
Plato 668
Pledger, J 412
Poems, The 615-18
Poetics 687-90
Poe, E A 552
Pogson, B: C 405 674
Politics 227 521 691
Pompen, A 214
Porter, H 172
Portia 574
Portraits of Sh 84 692
Poulet, A 170
Poulett, Earl 170
Powell, D 452
Praise of Sh 693
Prawer, S 47
Praz, M 96 214
Preston, J 727
Price, H T 153 663
Prior, M E 595
Productions 694-701
Promus 22
Prose fiction 57 68
Prouty, C T 253 254 591
Proverbs 18
Pruvost, R 105
Psychology 356 421 495
Pushkin, A 333
Putt, S G 66
Pyle, F 679

Q

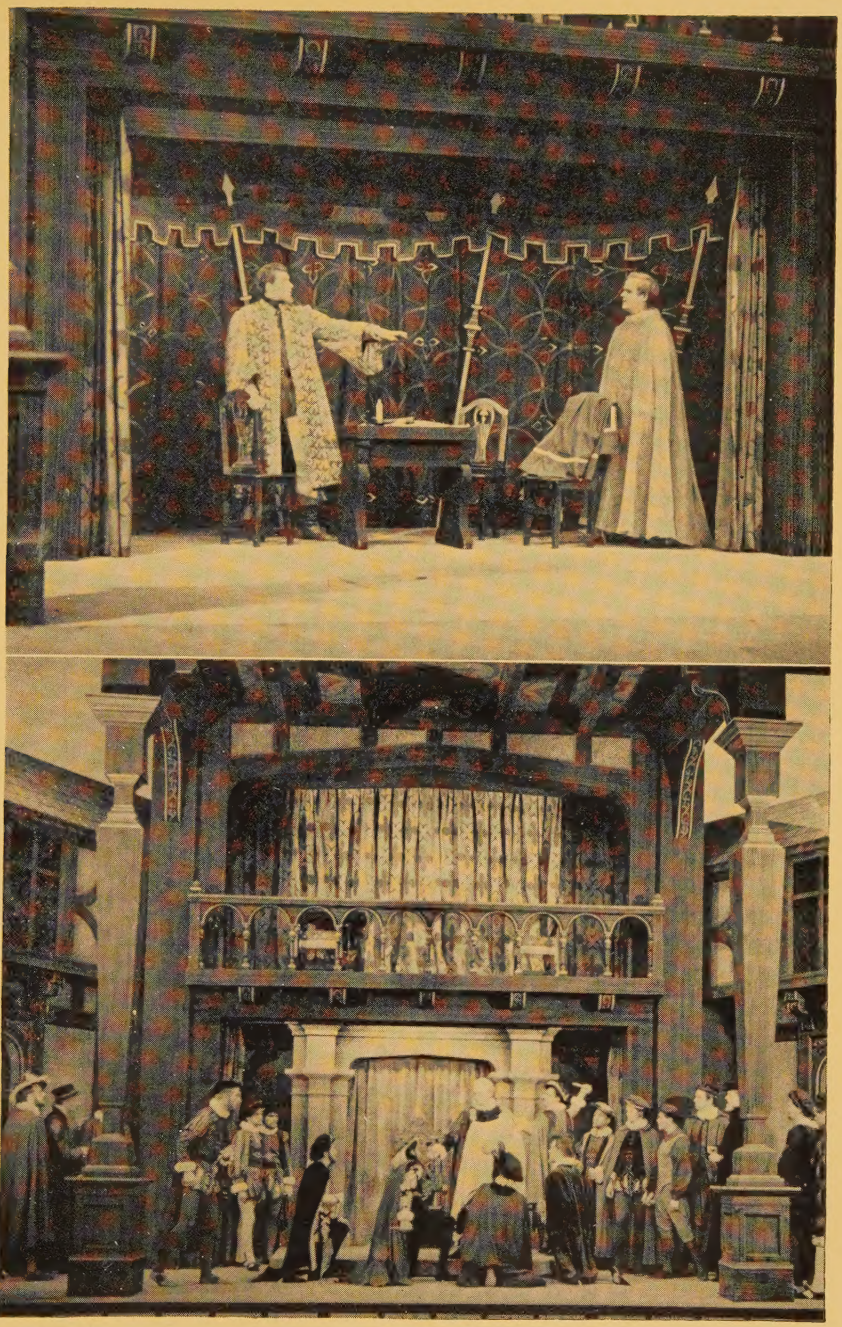
Q., D 18 234
Quartos 5 50 663
Quinn, D B 703

R

Ralegh, W 702-06 776
Ralph Roister Doister 773
Rajan, B 760
Randolph, T 707
Rape of Lucrece 618
Rashbrook, R F 735
Ratcliff, N: 392
Rathborne, I: E 728
Ray, S 371
Raymond, W A 609
Read, J 284
Redgrave, M 542
Regenos, G W 266
Rehder, H 272
Reincarnation 326
Religion 708-10
Renwick, W L 731
Reyher, P 93
Reynolds, G F 97 672
Reynolds, L: 686a
Rhetoric 719
Ribner, I 587 623
Richard II 619-30
Richard III 631-33
Richards, I A 668
Rival poet 649
Roddier, H 54
Rollins, H E 187
Romeo & Juliet 634-40
Rosamond 190
Rossiter, A P 162 667
Rowley, N 217
Rudland, P 525 616
Ruiz, N G 453
Rule a Wife & Have a Wife 29
Rulfs, D J 30
Runnquist, A 553
Russia 333 411 711
Ryan, J K 708
Rylands, G 403

S

Sackton, A H 286 375
Satire 690 712
Sawyer, R G 41
Schackford, M: H 189
Schiller, A 296



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Schoeck, R J 756
Schücking, L L 94
Scientists 322
Scribner, S 725
Secord, A W 248
Secret of Secrets 349
Semper, I J 412 420 479
Seneca 177 713-15 758 772
Sensabaugh, G F 31
Severs, K 219
Shaaber, M A 220 413 491
Shanker, S 632
Shannon, G P 311
Shapiro, I A 766
Shaw, G B 1 694
Shepheardes Calendar 730 734 738
Shield, H A 110
Shires, H M 223
Shirley, J 217 716-17
Short, E 298
Shylock 495 568-69 572 579
Sidney, P 123 587 679 704 718-26
Siegel, P N 78
Simpson, E: M 204
Simpson, P 108 291
Sisson, C J 294
Sitwell, E: 65 113
Siwards 166
Sledd, J 165
Smelik, E L 442
Smith, J H 218
Smith, P A 177
Smith, R M 636
Smith, W 761
Sonnets, The 641-51
"Sooth" 682
Sophonisba 532
Sources, Foreign 53 64
Spargo, J W 564
Spaulding, T M 346
Speaight, R 691
Spencer, H 83
Spencer, T 347 391
Spenser, E 106 215 649 727-40
Spielmann, M H 380
Springer, R: 480
Stage history 750-51
Staging 30 116 750-51
Stanislavsky 597 599
Staples, L C 511
Starnes, D T 252
Stein, A 178
Stewart, C D 762
Stewart, H L 275
Stoll, E E 593 595 607
Stone, G W 3 510
Stone, L 328
St. Patrick 717
Stratford-Upon-Avon 699-700
Strathmann, E A 179 702
Strauss, L: S 581
Stroud, T A 280
Stuart, M: 752-57
Style 758
Sullivan 1
Sumarokov 403
Sunne Rising 198
Sutherland, J R 126
Swan theatre 765
Syford, C: M 738
Sylvester, R 282

T

Tacito 330
Tamburlaine the Great 306
Taming of the Shrew 652-54
Tannenbaum, D: R 36 39
Tannenbaum, S A 36 39
Tate, A 211 712
Taylor, G C 149 295
Teagarden, L: 316
Technique 759-61
Telle, E V 244
Tempest, The 318
Textual problems 436 438 481 527 596 598 611 678 762-63
Thaler, A 123 722
Theatres 764-67
Thomas, S 174 378
Thomson, J A K 52
Thorndike, R 124
Tillyard, E M W 69 107 193
Timon of Athens 658-661
Titus Andronicus 662-65
Tolstoi 270
Tom Thumb 585
Tompkins, J M S 538

Tourneur, C 768
Tower of London 501
Townsend, F: L 291
Tragedy 67 94 769-72
Transformed Metamorphosis 768
Traversi, D A 484
Trew, C: 20
Troilus & Cressida 318 666-73
Truc, G 360
Tuve, R: 63 66 74 89 118 122 138
Twelfth Night 674-80
Twenty Good Nights 315
Two Angry Women of Abington 172
Two Gentlemen of Verona 681

U

Udall, N 217 773
Unfortunate Traveler, The 374, 376-77 379
Untermeyer, L 268
Ure, P 716 772
Utley, F L 68
Utz, H W 260

V

Venus & Adonis 616-17
Via Media 212
Vickers, J 4
Vigilant 197
Villar, J 624
Voeten, B 645
Vogel, R: R 101
Volpone 279 292

W

Walker, R 446-47
Wallis, L B 31
Warren, A 265
Wasserman, E 56 128
Wasserman, E R 769
Watkins, W B C 143 736
Watts, R 282 541
Webster, J 217 251 774-80
Weird sisters 552 556
Weisinger, H 236
Weisman, N 217
Weiss, R 243
Weld, J S 256
Wendell, J P 209
Wertsching, P: 58
West, E J 525 529 694
Westcott, J 226
Westfall, A 635
Whitaker, V K 69
White, D M 495
White, H: C 350
White, R G 117
Whitfield, J H 274
Widows in drama 217
Wiles, R M 136
Will, S F 354
Willcock, G D 232 253
Williams, F B 344
Williams, G W 188
Williams, H 271
Williams, P 524
Williamson, J H 207
Willoughby, E E 158
Wilson, E C 108 396
Wilson, E M 29 246
Wilson, F P 181
Wilson, H S 55 262-63
Wilson, J D 171 486 534 538-39 546 550 565 589
Wilson, J L 573
Wilson, L 84
Wimsatt, W K 385
Winstedt, R 318
Winsten, A 454
Winter's Tale 682-86a
Winterset 437
Woolf, V: 169 203 249 324 362 721 739
Wortham, J 231
Wotton, H 256
Wright, T 280
Wyatt, E: V R 279 387 555
Wyatt, T 224 781

Y

Yates, F: A 781
Young, G M 85
Young, S 335 459-60 487 533 600 626 638 655 675 777
Yunge-Bateman, J 617-18
Yuzovsky, Y 103

Z

Zahav, I 570 575
Zweig, S 365